

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

FROM THE DUKE OF RUTLAND'S MINIATURE

Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen

SELECT NARRATIVES FROM THE 'PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS' OF HAKLUYT

EDITED BY

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WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, MAPS, ETC., BY

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PREFACE

IN the present edition, the two volumes of Mr. Payne's original selection (first published in 1880; second edition 1893, 1900) have been condensed into one by the omission of the melancholy, almost disgraceful, last voyage and last letter of Thomas Cavendish, as well as of Raleigh's dreary and 'philomythic' *Discovery of Guiana*, and of the introductory matter relating to these texts. Here at least the reader will no longer have to wade through the unworthy recriminations of Elizabethan heroes turned by misfortune into scolds, forgetful of dignity and truth; nor will he any longer be obliged to study the nature of the headless 'Ewaipanoma' of Raleigh's anonymous friend and 'most honest man of his word'. To have lost our record of the miraculous virtues of the Armadillo, a preservative against poison 'as sovereign as any unicorn's horn', is perhaps a calamity: but who will lament the absence of those terrible and endless names of Indian towns, tribes, and chiefs with which Sir Walter pelts us in his *Discovery*— Orenoqueponi, Arraroopana, Toparimaca, Marinatambal, Macureguarai, and the like? Romance is good; but a hundred pages of El Dorado and its neighbours is too long a spell away from *terra firma*, if our object is to learn, as we may from all the narratives we have left in this series, the truth and fact of English expansion in the great days of Elizabeth.

No better and more representative pictures of this

national outgoing could have been found than the relations here given, so vivid in style, so accurate in record, so photographic of the men and times to which they refer. And the oversea movement led by Drake and Hawkins, by Frobisher and Gilbert, by Raleigh and Cavendish and Lancaster, is worth studying from the best sources we can find. For it becomes, in the closing years of the Tudor age, one of the two or three chief lines of national progress. It is no longer a by-path of our history; it is necessary to the development of the English people: through it England achieves her position in the Modern World.

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INTRODUCTION

Mr. Froude has happily characterized the 'Principal Navigations' of Hakluyt as 'the prose epic of the modern English nation.' This liberal estimate of Hakluyt's labours contrasts amusingly with an opinion once put forth by an eminent Professor of Modern History in the sister University. Professor Smyth accounted the 'Principal Navigations' nothing but 'an unwieldy and unsightly mass,' only likely to be burrowed into by a few speculative persons, bent upon tracing out 'the steps which lead to permanent alterations and improvements in the concerns of mankind.' Only the mere lover of old books will deny that Hakluyt's blackletter folios are both unwieldy and unsightly. But no one who knows them will consent to dismiss them as containing nothing but raw material for the use of the philosopher. They contain episodes which are integral parts of our national history—episodes to which the English reader cannot but recur again and again, with an emotion akin to that which a Greek may be supposed to have felt while listening to the exploits of the Homeric heroes. And no one who has experienced this

feeling will be disposed to quarrel with Mr. Froude for denominating Hakluyt our national prose epic.

Among the heroes of this epic one group undeniably stands forth with commanding prominence. Hakluyt's work is mainly the monument of the great English navigators and maritime adventurers of his own time, who overthrew the Spanish colossus that bestrode the ocean, established that naval supremacy on which after-ages reared the fabric of the British Empire, and prepared the way for the founders of the great Anglo-American nation. If the interest which men command with posterity depends on the importance of the services which they render to their country, on the breadth, the variety and the originality of their designs, as well as on the measure of success which attends them—on their patriotism and force of character, and on the wealth of dramatic incident embodied in their careers, few more interesting groups can be found in English history, or in any other. Conspicuous in its forefront stand the three famous navigators whose voyages are commemorated in the present volume. Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake are always remembered among us as the three lieutenants of the admiral who repulsed the Spanish Armada. It is sometimes forgotten that they were the very men who by their assaults on the Spanish possessions in America had done most to provoke the Spanish invasion of England. The brilliancy of their exploits in the New World induced men like Gilbert, Raleigh, and Cavendish, scholars and gentlemen-adventurers, and soldiers rather than sailors, to take up the movement which the three seamen had started. The principal figure in the group, in the eyes

of contemporaries, was undoubtedly Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh's fame rested rather on the magnificence of his projects than on the extent of his achievements. The dream of his life was to oust Spain from America, and thereby to make England the greatest power in the Christian world. History judges by results. Had Raleigh permanently colonized 'Virginia,' subjugated the caciques of Florida, made himself master of the riches of La Grand Copal, ransacked the Apalachian mountains of their fabled wealth in gold, crystal, rubies, and diamonds, and thence marched southwards to Mexico—had he then discovered the imaginary kingdom of El Dorado in Guiana and annexed it to the dominions of his sovereign, invaded New Granada from the Orinoco, marched to Quito and Cuzco, and permanently secured for England what Drake called the 'Treasure of the World,' he would have done something more than keep the place assigned to him among his contemporaries by contemporary opinion. He would have ranked as the greatest Englishman of his own or any other time. But his projects, one and all, ended in failure, and his fame stands eclipsed by that of the less imaginative adventurers whose successes inspired him.

Yet though Gilbert, Raleigh, and Cavendish are only secondary figures among the great Elizabethan maritime adventurers, history will always rank them with Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake as a single group, because they all toiled in the same field and with the same object. To break the maritime power of the most formidable prince in Europe, and to throw open to the English people that New World which he arrogantly claimed as his own, was the end to which they devoted

their thoughts, their energies, and their fortunes. Amidst perils of every description, among the ice of the Arctic seas and the tornadoes and pestilences of the tropics, through battle and treachery worse than battle, one and all carried their lives in their hands, year after year, in pursuit of it. One and all laid their lives down for it. Gilbert, the first to drop off, perished with his Lilliputian bark while returning from the first English colonizing expedition. Cavendish, heart-broken at a failure which contrasted so painfully with his previous brilliant success, sickened and died between Brazil and England. The corpses of Hawkins and Drake sank in the West Indian seas amidst the thunder of funeral guns. Two only among them ended their lives on land. Frobisher crossed the Channel to die of a wound received in active service. Raleigh, the last survivor, was sacrificed to pamper the offended pride of Spain, and finished his career on the scaffold.

This general movement towards America on the part of the Elizabethan maritime adventurers was only indirectly connected with that general extension of maritime enterprise which accompanied the Renaissance, and of which the discovery of America was the principal fruit. When Elizabeth came to the throne, the great period of maritime discoveries, a period extending from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, was already well advanced, and the main problems of geography had been solved. The map of the world, as we have it at this day, had been constructed by adventurers of other nations. The chief seat of the arts and sciences, in the Middle Ages, was Italy; and the improved geography which

appears as the Middle Ages close was mainly due to Italian energy and sagacity. In the palmiest days of the Papacy and of the Italian maritime republics, Italian monks and merchants penetrated the heart of Asia. Italian seamen passed the Pillars of Hercules, braved the unknown dangers of the stormy Atlantic, explored the desolate shores of Barbary, rediscovered the Fortunate Isles of the Ancients, and increased the Ptolemaic map of the world by the addition of the Madeiras and the Azores. The remote regions to which they had penetrated were beyond the scope of Italian political or mercantile interests. They thus fell under the sway of the maritime powers of the Spanish peninsula; and the exploration of the Atlantic was continued under the direction and at the expense of Portuguese and Castilian adventurers. It must not be supposed that the gradual exploration of the coast of Africa, which ultimately led to the passing of the Cape of Good Hope and the establishment of a connexion by sea between Lisbon and India, was exclusively the work of Portuguese seamen. The expeditions of the Spanish and Portuguese were to a very great extent made under Italian captains, with Italian crews, and in vessels built by Italian shipwrights. Italian mathematicians constructed the charts and instruments by which they sailed, and Italian bankers furnished funds for equipping them. A similar influence was at work in England: the Italian merchants of London and the Italian seamen of Bristol were the links between the great movement of maritime exploration and an insular people which at the eleventh hour began to profit by it. The Genoese were best known in Bristol,

though it was a Venetian who first conducted English sailors to the shores of America. The skill and science of Italy penetrated everywhere, allied themselves with the spirit of territorial conquest and commercial enterprise in other lands, and wrought out the exploration of the coasts of Africa, the crossing of the Atlantic before the trade wind, and the discovery of the New World. Columbus did but add the finishing stroke to a work on which his countrymen had been incessantly employed for two centuries. When this stroke had been made, the part of Italy was completed. Thirty years afterwards, the powers on the Atlantic seaboard began their long struggle for the substantial results of these discoveries. It is at a subsequent period in this stage of the history of oceanic enterprise, forty years after the struggle commenced, and seventy years after the Discovery itself, that England steps in.

It needs no deep research to account for this backwardness of England in the exploration and occupation of the New World. It is sufficient to observe that for half a century after the discovery of America there was little or nothing to induce Englishmen to attempt it. It required many years for the Spaniards themselves to discover the wealth of the New World: and it was not until the extent of this wealth had become known to other nations that the latter thought the New World to be seriously worth their notice. England was by no means a feeble power, nor were Englishmen backward to perceive the immense possibilities which the discovery involved. While the voyages of Columbus were as yet confined to the islands, and before the continental coast had been reached, English patentees, roused to

activity by these voyages, had been empowered by Henry the Seventh to occupy any lands in the Atlantic not hitherto known to Christian nations. These English patentees reached the continent of America before Columbus ever beheld it: and patents expressed in similar terms were freely granted to other adventurers. No regard was practically paid, either in England or in France, to the Pope's partition of the globe between Spain and Portugal. Had Frenchmen or Englishmen desired to settle in the New World, nothing could have prevented it. How then, it may be asked, happened it that French and English adventurers were backward in availing themselves of an opportunity apparently so magnificent? The answer is that it was not considered to be worth while. America, it is true, was known to produce the precious metals. But it was not until the discovery of Mexico and Peru that it was supposed to be particularly rich in them. This is significantly illustrated by the important document of early American history contained in the play or interlude of the 'Four Elements,' written shortly before the discovery of Mexico. In the speech of 'Experience' to 'Studious Desire' regret is expressed that Englishmen had not occupied America, converted its natives to Christianity, and availed themselves of its 'commodities.' This speech has a remarkable omission. The commodities include only fish, copper, and timber: there is no mention whatever of the precious metals.

The slight value likely to be set by Englishmen on the gold and silver mines of America during the earlier decades after the Discovery may be further illustrated from the contemporary Spanish historian Las Casas.

For thirty years the most esteemed possession of the Spaniards in America was the island of Española. In describing this island Las Casas takes great pains to demonstrate that it is not inferior in natural resources and general value to the most celebrated islands of the Old World; and he accordingly compares it in succession with England, Sicily, and Crete. We shall only cite that part of his argument which refers to England. He begins by showing to his own satisfaction that Española is larger than England, or at any rate not smaller: an opinion generally accepted among the Spaniards, and adopted in substance by the writers of two narratives in the present volume (pp. 39, 252), although that island in fact contains less than one-third of the area of Great Britain, and not half the area of England and Wales. No doubt, he says, England is fertile, for it possesses corn, and great forests and pastures; and it abounds in sheep, for the simple reason that there are no wolves. It also yields abundance of gold, silver, iron, and lead; it has pearls, and salt mines, and great rivers, and a climate more temperate than that of France. He then proceeds to show that in most of these respects Española is at least equal to it. He sets little store by the gold mines of Española; these, he thinks, only have the effect of diverting industry from more profitable channels. He admits that Española has neither silver, pearls, nor tin. 'But to set against the silver and pearls of England,' proceeds Las Casas, 'Española possesses forty or fifty sugar-mills, and there is ample room for two hundred.' 'These,' he triumphantly concludes, 'are more valuable, and more useful to the human race, than all the gold, and silver, and pearls of England!'

The discovery of Mexico revealed the fact that America was unusually rich in silver and gold. This discovery approximately coincided with the opening of that period of war between Spain and France which lasted with some intermissions from 1521 to 1556. In the first of those years Cortes entered the pueblo of Mexico. The two vessels which he despatched to Spain, laden with treasure, at the end of the year 1522, were captured shortly after leaving the Azores by the Florentine captain Giovanni da Verrazzano, who held a French commission. About the same time Verrazzano took a large Spanish vessel homeward-bound from St. Domingo, laden with treasure, pearls, sugar, and hides. These prizes made him a wealthy man. Out of his gains he was able to give splendid presents to the French King and High-Admiral: and general amazement was felt at the wealth which was pouring into Spain from its American possessions. 'The Emperor,' Francis exclaimed, 'can carry on the war with me by means of the riches he draws from the West Indies alone!' This expression, it will be remembered, included at this time only the four greater Antilles, and the parts of the continent between Guatemala and the Northern Sierra Madre of Mexico. Determined to have his share in the wealth of America, Francis was reported to have sent to Charles a message to the following effect:—'Your Majesty and the King of Portugal have divided the world between you, offering no part of it to me. Show me, I beseech you, the will of our father Adam, that I may judge whether he has really constituted you his universal heirs!'

In the next year, Francis despatched Verrazzano

on the famous voyage in which the shores of North America were for the first time explored from Florida to Newfoundland. His design was masked under the pretext of seeking the North-West Passage. The real object of the expedition was to lay the foundation for a claim to that tract of the New World which stretched northward from Mexico, in the belief that this tract, like Mexico itself, would be found to yield gold. Having accomplished this voyage, Verrazzano was again commissioned to plunder the homeward-bound Spanish shipping, and took some prizes between Spain and the Canaries. On his return he encountered a squadron of Spanish vessels of war. After a severe engagement, Verrazzano surrendered, and was hanged as a pirate at Colmenar de Arenas in November 1527.

The voyage of Verrazzano was considered by the French to confer upon them an absolute title to all North America, and to justify them in making settlements on its soil even in time of peace. They gave it the name of New France. So long as the wars lasted, piracy was pursued as the most profitable form of enterprise; in the intervals of peace preparations were made for colonization. Thus, between the peace of Cambray in 1529 and the renewal of the war in 1536 the coasts of Labrador and the gulf of St. Lawrence were explored by the celebrated corsair Jacques Cartier of St. Malo (1534, 1535). During the third war (1536–1538) these operations were suspended; but they were revived in the interval of peace which followed (1538–1542), and in 1540 Cartier made a third voyage, in which he sailed up the St. Lawrence, and chose a site for the subsequent colony under Roberval (1542). Roberval's colony

proved a failure; colonization was for the time abandoned, and maritime activity resumed the form of piracy. Meanwhile an event had happened which gave piracy a fresh impulse. This was the conquest of Peru, the richest district of the New World. A few years later another element began to exercise an important influence on the course of events. In France, England, and Holland the cause of Protestantism was steadily advancing. Though it does not appear to have been particularly rife in the maritime provinces of France, it is certain that when it was attempted to suppress it by persecution large numbers of Protestants joined the roving captains. Spain was notoriously the main support of the Catholic party throughout Europe: it was Charles the Fifth who had crushed the Protestants of Germany. Even in time of peace the French Protestant cruisers continued to harass the Spanish vessels; and they were imitated, later on, by those of Holland and England. Out of French piracy there grew a continuous maritime war, waged by the Protestants of Western Europe against the Spanish King as the champion of the Papacy, and the patron of the Inquisition: and the movement of other nations towards America, whether for the purpose of plunder or of settlement, came to be identified by the Spaniards, and not without reason, with the cause of heresy.

It was in the interval between the second and third Franco-Spanish wars that Peru was discovered. The treasure furnished by America to Spain was now trebled. One of the Spanish prizes taken by a French cruiser was so richly laden that the shares of the very

cabin boys amounted to 800 gold ducats! From plundering the Spanish vessels the French seamen now advanced to capturing the seaports and holding them to ransom. The capture of Havana in 1536 was a memorable example. A single French vessel had seized the town, exacted a ransom, and sailed homeward. Three Spanish ships arriving the next day, the governor of Havana despatched them in pursuit of the French cruiser. The Spanish flag-ship overtook the Frenchman, but hesitated to attack until the arrival of her consorts. The French pirates turned on their pursuers, captured all three ships, returned to Havana, and levied a double ransom.

Incidents such as this naturally suggest, as the fact was, that the Spaniards were no match for the French rovers in seamanship. Probably there was a corresponding inequality in the arts of shipbuilding and gunnery: and an inferiority on the part of the Spanish vessels for the purposes of attack and defence necessarily resulted from the situation. While these were selected or built with an eye to their capacity for carrying bulky cargoes, the French cruisers were light and easily handled, manœuvring quickly round the unwieldy hulls of the enemy, and inflicting damage which it was impossible to retaliate. Contemporary opinion assigned other reasons for the continued successes of the French corsairs. The principal one was the niggardliness of the Spanish shipowners in taking precautions for the protection of their vessels. The Royal Council of the Indies, a board established at Seville for the purpose of regulating the trade between Spain and its American possessions, had ordered that all vessels employed in

that trade should be provided with proper appliances of defence, and had prescribed a minimum of equipment for the purpose. Every ship was to carry at least two large pieces of brass ordnance, six iron guns, and a certain quantity of small arms. It is certain, none the less, that most of the Spanish vessels put to sea very imperfectly furnished. The haste with which the preparations for sailing often had to be completed was sometimes assigned as a reason. A more obvious one was unwillingness to encumber the vessels with an unprofitable tonnage of heavy guns, balls, and powder-cask, and to provide the costly complement of gunners and soldiers. For this reason especially, the regulation was so unpopular, that the Council found it necessary to appoint Commissaries charged with the duty of inspecting each vessel before it left the mouth of the Guadalquivir at San Lucar, and making sure that the requirements of the board had been obeyed. These officials were required to attend afterwards at Seville, and to swear their corporal oath in the presence of the Council, that no vessel had received their sailing permit without carrying its full equipment. But the Commissaries, it was said, could be readily induced to forswear themselves by the timely present of a few ducats. Hence it sometimes happened that three or four large vessels sailed for America having among them nothing better for the purposes of defence than a couple of rusty iron guns, a dozen or two of shot in the locker, and a single cask of half-spoiled powder.

Could it be wondered at, in such circumstances, that the harbours of Normandy and Brittany were full of captured Spanish barks, the captains and crews of

which, stripped of all but their ragged clothes, were forced to beg their way home to Spain, and that the plundering not merely of such petty towns as Puerto de Plata, Azua, Yaguana, and Maguana, in Española, but of Santa Martha, Cabo de Vela, Santiago de Cuba, Havana, and Carthagena themselves, were the staple topics of the garrulous French sailors? In connexion with the capture of the last-named places, strange stories were current of the malice and perfidy of the Spaniards. It was not difficult to induce Spanish sailors to act as pilots to the Frenchmen: and in this way the chart of the West Indian seas quickly became as familiar to the French as to the Spaniards themselves. Sometimes treachery assumed a more malign form. A Spanish sailor, guilty of some trivial offence, had been flogged at Carthagena. He shipped on board a French vessel, came back with a squadron of others, showed the Frenchmen where to land and make their assault, and revelled at length in the spectacle of Carthagena in flames. In 1554 a French cruiser plundered Santiago de Cuba, and entered the port of Havana. The Spaniards, profiting by the experience gained in previous raids, had removed and concealed most of their effects. Negotiations for the ransom were still pending when the Spaniards treacherously attacked the French by night, and killed four of them. The French commander avenged them by leaving Havana a heap of smoking ruins.

Some stories which have come down to us from these times suggest that the Spaniards were as inferior to the French in personal courage as they undoubtedly were in seamanship; certainly they falsify the braggard

proverb which asserted one Spaniard to be a match for four Germans, three Frenchmen, or two Italians. Two French rovers, after taking a carvel bound for Cabo de Vela, had boldly cast anchor off the island of Mona, half-way between Española and Puerto Rico, and a well-known Spanish dépôt. The authorities of St. Domingo despatched a fleet of five ships to capture them. One French captain deemed it prudent to run, and succeeded in making good his escape. The other vessel was taken, carried to St. Domingo, and condemned to be towed out to sea and burnt. The French sailors, loudly cursing the cowardice of their commander, were sent prisoners to Spain, for which purpose they were distributed among a squadron of homeward-bound vessels. Five, as it happened, were shipped on board a carvel laden with sugar and carrying 15,000 ducats in gold. While the Spaniards were dozing on their watch, these five desperadoes slipped their irons, attacked their captors, flung them overboard, and brought the carvel triumphantly into a French port.

It was natural for these stories to pass from France to England. But the losses inflicted by the French on the Spaniards, and the defenceless condition of the American ports, were not for Englishmen mere matters of hearsay. Friendly relations existed at this time between England and Spain. Many English merchants resided in the latter country, and with the full consent of the Spanish authorities they sometimes shipped for the New World, and resided there for years together. Two English residents in Spain, named Field and Thompson, while on their voyage to America, had a curious experience of the terror which

French piracy had struck into the Spaniards. They had taken passage on board a Spanish carvel, and were sailing as far as the Canaries some days in advance of the rest of the squadron, intending to take their pleasure in a leisurely fashion at those charming isles. On their arrival at the Grand Canary, the Spaniards received them with a volley of shot which carried away the main-mast. It turned out that the carvel, in which they were, bore a close resemblance to another which had recently been taken by a French man-of-war. The daring captors had emptied their prize, armed her with guns, coolly sailed back into the roadstead, boarded a vessel laden with sugar, and carried her off also. The carvel which carried Field and Thompson was supposed to be the identical vessel by which this shrewd trick had been played, and to be on the point of endeavouring to repeat it.

It was scarcely possible that this desperate game, with the Treasure of the World for a stake, should be played year after year between the Spaniards and French without some effect being produced on English opinion. Swayed as peoples commonly are, partly by commercial and dynastic connexions, partly by traditional jealousy of their nearest neighbours, and partly by some dim sense of right and wrong, it was natural for the English to side with Spain rather than with France. But whatever might be the rights of the case, there gradually grew among the English people a determination to secure some share for themselves in the Treasure of the World. The first evidences of any substantial interest being taken by Englishmen in the New World date from the end of the period of

wars between Spain and France. The last great step in the development of America had by this time been made; the Spaniards had discovered Peru and the mines of Potosi. The wealth of Peru gave the first effective stimulus to projects for securing a share in American enterprise to the English. Potosi was the most important factor in the process. The other factor was supplied by the exploits of the French rovers. These clearly indicated that the Spaniards were incapable of keeping other nations out of the New World. Nine-tenths of the continent were unexplored: the chances were that other Perus, perhaps other Potosis, still awaited the adventurer. Without Potosi and the French rovers there would doubtless have been in the course of time English projects for the occupation of America. But they would have been formed at a later time, under other circumstances, and by other men.

Too much importance must not be assigned to the ephemeral productions of the printing-press; but straws suffice to show which way the wind blows. Richard Eden's *New India*[1] was published in 1553 with the view of inducing Englishmen to 'make attempts in the New World to the glory of God and the commodity of our country.' America's wealth in the precious metals is held out as the one inducement. If Englishmen had been alive to their opportunities, says Eden, 'that Rich Treasury called PERULARIA[2] might long since have been

[1] 'A Treatise of the New India, &c. After the Description of Sebastian Munster in his Book of Universal Cosmography.' (Reprinted in Professor Arber's 'First Three English Books on America,' Birmingham, 1885.)

[2] The Bullion-Warehouse of Seville.

in the Tower of London.' This was eight years after the year in which the silver mines of Potosi were first registered in the books of the King of Spain (1545). It will be remembered that after the discovery of the mines of Potosi the silver mines of Europe were for the most part abandoned, because it was no longer profitable to work them. The same thing happened to the ancient silver mines of the New World itself. Until the discovery of the mines of Guanajuato in Mexico, two hundred years later, Potosi was the principal source of the silver supply of the world. Viewed in the light of these facts, the significance of Eden's suggestion is apparent; the train of reasoning seems to be something to the following effect. Forty years elapsed between the discovery of America and the discovery of the wealthy kingdom of Peru; and the main treasure of Peru, the mines of Potosi, unknown to the Indians, remained undiscovered for ten years longer. The probability is that the enormous continent of the New World, of which Mexico and Peru themselves are but comparatively small tracts, contains gold and silver in all its parts. The Spaniards are yearly drawing enormous quantities of both metals from their American possessions. It is impossible for Spain to do more than to exploit and to protect the districts she has already occupied. Let Englishmen, then, emulate the famous deeds of Cortes and Pizarro, and seek for gold and silver in those parts which the Spaniards have as yet left untouched.

When the *New India* was written, the question of the future matrimonial alliance of the sovereign, by which the fortunes of England, and the share to be

taken by her in American adventure, could scarcely fail to be largely influenced, still remained undecided. Had Edward VI lived, and had the intended marriage between him and Elizabeth of France been carried out, England's share in American enterprise would have been taken in a different way. The death of Edward and the succession of Mary had the effect of making England again the ally of Spain. On July 19, 1554, Philip of Spain arrived in England; and on the 25th he was married to Mary at Winchester. He brought with him twenty-seven chests, each forty inches long, filled with bullion, and ninety-nine horse-loads and two cart-loads of gold and silver. The contents of that Rich Treasury called Perularia were actually on their way to the Tower of London! This was only the beginning. The debased coinage of England was unworthy of a joint-monarch who was master of the Treasure of the World. On October 2, there arrived at the Tower of London £50,000 of silver in ninety-seven boxes; this substantial sum was destined to form the nucleus of Philip's 'English Treasury.' Richard Eden, the author of the *New India*, obtained the post of clerk in this new national institution. He had watched the entry of the king and queen into London; and on this occasion he had exercised his mind on the possible consequences of the match which had now been made. One thing appeared abundantly clear to him. The commercial bond which united them being now strengthened by a dynastic connexion, Spain and England must henceforward proceed to exploit the New World hand in hand. It was not that the interests of the two nations in the Treasure of the World were to be fused.

England, stimulated by the example of Spain, must now take a new departure. Eden resolved to translate into English the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, which contained the story of the Discovery of the New World down to the conquest of Mexico. In the next year (1555) his book appeared. So anxious, it would seem, was he to publish it, that it contained only the first three of Peter Martyr's eight Decades. The rest of the volume was filled with other matter of a similar description: and in the preface Eden unburdens his soul of the ideas with which the entry of Philip and Mary into London had inspired him[1].

Until 1492, says Eden, God suffered the great sea-serpent Leviathan to have dominion in the ocean, and to cast mists in the eyes of men, which hid from them the passage to the Newfoundland. How great a change has been wrought in sixty years! The 'heroical facts' of the Spaniards in the New World far exceed those of great Alexander and the Romans. They have delivered the Indians from the bondage of Satan, and taught them true religion and the arts of life. They have showed a good example to all Christian nations to follow. God is great and wonderful in his works: and besides the portions of land pertaining to the Spaniards and Portugals, *there yet remaineth another portion of that mainland, reaching toward the north-east, thought to be as large as the other, and not yet known but only by the sea coasts, neither inhabited by Christian men. . . .These regions are called* TERRA FLORIDA *and* REGIO BACCALEARUM *or*

[1] 'The Decades of the New World or West India. Translated into English by Richard Eden.' (Reprinted in Professor Arber's 'First Three English Books on America.')

BACCHALLAOS. In neglecting them the English have no respect either for the cause of God or their own commodity, and are guilty of inexcusable slothfulness and negligence before God and the world. They should cease ever like sheep to haunt one trade, and attempt some voyages unto these coasts, to do for our parts as the Spaniards have done for theirs. Eden believes verily that if we would take the matter in hand accordingly, God would not forget to aid us with miracles, if it should be so requisite, and concludes with an eulogium on Willoughby and Chancellor, who had attempted by the north seas to discover the mighty and rich empire of Cathay.

Practically the suggestion of Eden amounts to this; let Englishmen avail themselves of the position of the future Spanish King as joint-sovereign of England, and of his presence in their midst, to obtain licences to explore and settle those parts of the New World which are not already occupied by the Spaniards. However acceptable this idea might be to the nation at large, it could scarcely commend itself to the sovereigns. Mary was a mere puppet in the hands of the husband whom she idolized. Philip, the prospective king of Spain, regarded England as a province which through his recent marriage would probably accrue to the Spanish crown. Such conditions afforded little countenance to the pretensions which Eden advances. A merely titular king of England, whose rights would cease upon the death of his queen without issue, could scarcely be expected to invite Englishmen to share in the inheritance of the New World. Every politician in Europe knew the practical advantage which the possession of America

conterred on the Spanish monarch. Again and again do the current ideas on the subject find pointed expression in contemporary memoirs. It was by means of the treasure of America, says one writer, that Charles the Fifth wrested Italy from France, and took the French king prisoner; sacked Rome, and took the Pope prisoner; overthrew the Duke of Cleves, the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse. The means by which this treasure was distributed had obtained among diplomatists the nickname of the Burgundian Ass. Laden with gold from the Rich Treasury called Perularia, this indefatigable animal silently insinuated itself everywhere, the messenger either of war or of peace, as its owner might choose. Truly had Peter Martyr prophesied to Charles that the Indies were a weapon wherewith he should reduce the whole world to obedience!

Another important consideration must have weighed strongly with Philip, if application had ever been made to him to grant charters for English enterprise in the New World. In the great religious struggle which was convulsing Europe a considerable minority of Englishmen were on the wrong side. To concede to the English a footing in America might have the effect of making its virgin soil the seed-plot of heresy. This highly undesirable result was in fact the confessed aim of the Huguenot leaders. The French corsairs who had for thirty years been plundering the treasure ships of Spain were mostly Protestants, and from piracy they were already advancing to territorial occupation. Foreseeing the possibility of their being one day driven from Europe, they intended to establish themselves in

Spain proved to be feeble at sea, and unable to resist the attempt; France in a position very similar to that of England, and possessing some actual experience in colonization, though the colonies in Canada and Brazil had proved failures. The accession of a new sovereign to the throne of England might well stimulate the French to engage at once in the colonization of Florida. It is certain that Elizabeth was credited by the French with a desire to signalize her reign by establishing colonies in this district: the expedition of Ribault in 1562 was perhaps hastened with the object of forestalling her. Opinion with regard to the colonization of North America, it should be remembered, was already divided into two opposite schools, the Northern and the Southern. The former was the older of the two, for it dates from before the discovery of either Mexico or Peru. The play-writer of the reign of Henry VIII, already quoted, belonged to the northern school because the southern school had not come into existence. The wealth derivable from the New World, he thinks, consists of the produce of its fisheries, long known to all Western Europe, and of the pitch, tar, and soap ashes which might be made out of its forests. The south of America he considers chiefly noteworthy as a place where men go naked on account of the great heat. The northern school proposed to start from the well-known fishing-grounds of Newfoundland as a basis, and to settle the adjacent districts of the continent. This was the scheme already initiated by Cartier, and afterwards adopted (1583) by the English adventurer Sir Humphry Gilbert, who, after being a partisan of the southern route, like most of his contemporaries, had

finally decided in favour of the northern just before sailing. The reason for this change was the proximity of the fishing-grounds, and the number of the shipping which frequented them; the fish and the surplus stores of the 'Newlanders,' he thought, would insure his colonists against famine. Delighted with the aspect of Newfoundland, Gilbert avowed 'that this voyage had won his heart from the south, and that he was now become a northern man altogether.' In the next year (1584) he proposed to equip two separate expeditions, a northern one for Newfoundland, and a southern one for Florida. Another adventurer, who figures in the last narrative in the present volume, proposed to solve the difficulty arising from the divided field of enterprise in another way. In the year of Gilbert's expedition, some merchants of Bristol were meditating an independent colonizing expedition, the command of which was offered to Christopher Carlile (p. 233). Carlile wrote a prospectus to commend the project to the merchants of London. A hundred colonists were to be conveyed to the New World, and settled in the latitude of 40°, or that of Philadelphia. In this way he proposed to collect the commodities of all North America at one central point, uniting the advantages of North and South. Carlile was anticipating the founder of Pennsylvania.

The southern school proposed to plant colonies in the regions immediately northward and eastward of the Gulf of Mexico, that is, in Florida; a district of which great expectations had been entertained ever since its discovery by Ponce de Leon on Easter Day (Pascua Florida), 1512. This part of the New World, it might perhaps be supposed, had been neglected by

the New World. In 1555 Coligny actually despatched a number of French Protestants to Brazil with the avowed purpose of providing a refuge for the adherents of the reformed religion in case of their being finally worsted in the struggle against the Catholics. The Expedition of the Indonauts, as it was called by a Protestant pedant, who celebrated its departure in an indifferent Greek poem, was understood to mark an epoch in the world's history. God looked down from heaven, he says, and saw that the corrupt Christians of Europe had utterly forgotten both Himself and His Son. He therefore determined to transfer the mysteries of Christianity to a New World, and to give the wicked Old World over to destruction. The colony of the Indonauts proved a signal failure. Seven years later a similar attempt was made in North America. In 1562, eight months before Hawkins sailed from Plymouth on his first slaving voyage, Jean Ribault sailed from the Havre in charge of another body of Huguenots, bound for the land called by Eden 'Terra Florida.' Meanwhile Mary had died, and Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne.

The Anglo-Spanish connexion left on the New World but a single temporary trace. In 1555 Pedro de Zurita, governor of Tucuman, established a settlement in one of the valleys of the Argentine Andes, and gave it the name of Londres or London, in honour of the union of Philip with the Queen of England. It was the first community in America named after an English city. New London was of short duration: the colonists were driven out by the Indians, and compelled to choose another site. We are reminded by Eden that the

reign of Mary had seen a remarkable maritime project brought to an unsuccessful trial. This project had aimed at the discovery of a North-eastern passage to China and India, corresponding to the South-eastern passage round the Cape of Good Hope. Sir Hugh Willoughby had sailed with three vessels, shortly before the death of Edward VI, with the object of exploring this route. He was compelled by the sudden approach of winter to lay up his ships in a harbour of Russian Lapland, where he and the crews of two of the ships were frozen to death. Richard Chancellor, in the third vessel, succeeded in reaching the White Sea, landed near Archangel, and returned by way of Moscow. The search for the North-eastern passage was pursued no further; speculative merchants and navigators turned to the more hopeful project of finding the North-west passage. This project, which Frobisher sailed with the object of executing, carried with it an additional inducement. It involved the exploration of the district called by Eden 'Baccalaos,' including the island of Newfoundland and generally those parts of the New World which adjoined Florida on the north. When the passage had been found, it was confidently anticipated that the Pacific shores of the New World, further to the southward, would afford facilities and inducements to colonization similar to those which were offered by Florida itself.

Such were the ideas prevalent in England regarding the New World and maritime enterprise generally when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne in 1558. Englishmen eager to make their way to Cathay by the North-west passage, and determined to have their share, in some way or other, in the occupation of America;

the Spaniards. Such was by no means the case. Even before the conquest of Peru an attempt had been made to conquer Florida. Pamphilo de Narvaez, best known to fame by his inglorious mission to compel the return of Cortes from Mexico, had landed in the country with the object of emulating the successes of the last-named adventurer (1528). Driven back to the sea, Narvaez perished in a storm, and of the 300 men who accompanied him five only returned to Mexico. They brought back the tantalizing intelligence that Florida was 'the richest country in the world.' This idle exaggeration had a slender basis of fact; for the Apalachian mountains, further to the north, contained mines both of gold and silver, which are worked to this day.

After the conquest of Peru the idea of annexing Florida to the dominions of Spain was revived: and the task was undertaken by Ferdinand de Soto, who had been one of Pizarro's lieutenants, on becoming Governor of Cuba in 1538. De Soto's unfortunate expedition in search of the North American Peru (1539) is one of the best known episodes in American history. During more than four years the Spaniards made their way through a territory sparsely peopled by Indians, marching first north-eastwards to the boundary of South Carolina, then successively westwards to the Apalachian mountains, southwards through Alabama to Mobile, and north-westwards to the Mississippi. In descending its valley the commander sickened and died, and his body was committed to its waters. During the whole exploration no community was reached of more importance than an Indian village, and not a single mine of gold or silver was discovered. The remnant of the party sailed from

the mouth of the river to Panuco in Mexico, bringing with them the story of a failure more lamentable than that of Narvaez. Even the missionaries, so successful everywhere else in reducing the Indians to submission, failed to gain any footing in Florida. In 1549 some Dominican friars, who had landed with the object of converting the Indians, were massacred. This incident, the most recent in connexion with the Peru of the north, was prominent in Eden's volume of 'Decades,' whence the chronicler of the second voyage of Hawkins transferred it to his own narrative (page 54). As is remarked by Hayes, the chronicler of Gilbert's expedition to Newfoundland, it seemed as if God had prescribed limits to the Spaniards which they might not exceed. Florida was evidently reserved by the decree of Providence for some other nation: and that nation must obviously be either the French or the English.

The expedition of De Soto had one important effect. It narrowed the field of future operations in the direction of the south. The new Peru must be looked for to the northward of the ground covered by De Soto's fruitless march. It also showed that the mineral treasures of Florida lay at some considerable distance in the interior of the country. No merely military expedition, it seemed, would suffice to secure them. The experience of the Spaniards elsewhere had proved colonization, or in the phrase of the day 'plantation,' to be the necessary preliminary of conquest. It was a colonist of Cuba who had discovered and conquered Mexico; colonists of Panama had discovered and conquered Peru. The treasures of Florida were to be reached by planting colonies on its coast, by winning

the confidence of the Indians, and by gradually extending explorations towards the interior. The task to be accomplished was evidently more difficult than those which confronted Cortes and Pizarro. The conqueror of Florida must profit by the example of those fortunate adventurers. Long settled in the Spanish West Indian colonies, they had become adepts in the difficult art of dealing with the aborigines; were able to pick up information, to organize enquiries, and to act in the right direction with all the force they commanded. By this policy the distant mountains where the mines of gold and silver were understood to be situated would in time be reached. Such were the ideas current when the first body of French colonists, brought over by the Huguenot sailor Jean Ribault, landed in Florida in the year of the first voyage of Hawkins (1562).

The first French colony in Florida was of short duration. Despairing of Ribault's return, the colonists in the following summer (1563) built a pinnace and sailed for Europe. After suffering terrible hardships, they were picked up by an English vessel. Some were landed in France; those who were not too exhausted to continue the voyage were taken on to England. The object of doing so was understood to be that Elizabeth was minded to send an expedition on her own account to Florida. Whether this were true or not, it is certain that Florida was at that time an object of universal interest in England. The name, indeed, had become a proverb. Wits travestied it into 'Stolida,' or land of fools, and 'Sordida,' or land of muck-worms. Pirates concealed their intentions by professing to be bound for Florida. When in the next year (1564)

Hawkins made his second voyage to the West Indies, the Queen lent one of her great ships, and some of her principal councillors had shares in the venture (pp. 2, 3). Several Frenchmen sailed with Hawkins (p. 17), of whom one at least was a returned emigrant from Florida. Putting these facts together, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it was intended from the first to make a reconnaissance of its coasts. In the spring of the same year (1564) a second body of French emigrants, headed by Laudonnière, had sailed for the same destination, and had established themselves on the 'River of May.' The character of Laudonnière's 'colonists,' most of whom had been pirates, is well illustrated by Sparke's graphic account (p. 58). Many joined an Indian chief and followed him to war with neighbouring tribes, probably in hope of plunder. Eighty of them mutinied, seized two vessels and a quantity of provisions, and recommenced their old trade in Española and Jamaica, keeping harbour in the latter island, and 'spoiling and pilling' the Spaniards, until the authorities of St. Domingo took measures to stop their depredations. Twenty-five escaped and returned to the River of May. Laudonnière condemned the four ringleaders to 'pass the arquebusers,' or, in other words, to be shot, and then gibbeted them.

The author of the narrative would have us believe that the visit of Hawkins to the shores of Florida was an accident due to an unexpected westward drift of the current in the Caribbean Sea: and such was evidently the view promulgated by Hawkins himself, who was a master, as his negotiations with the Spaniards abundantly prove, in the art of inventing ingenious pre-

texts. Those who read between the lines will probably conclude that the visit to Florida was meditated from the beginning. However this may be, Laudonnière certainly regarded his visitors, welcome though they were, as the precursors of future rivals. He had collected a considerable store of silver from the Indians; but he so arranged his transactions with the English captain that none of the precious metal should pass between them, lest the sight of it should tempt Elizabeth to carry out her intention of colonizing Florida. The English sailors manifested no little curiosity on the great question whether the country would prove to be a second Peru. The Indians, at the arrival of the French, possessed abundance of gold and silver, and readily parted with them. No mines whatever could be heard of in the neighbourhood of Laudonnière's settlement. Little doubt, nevertheless, was felt that in the end mines would be found, for the country was known to form one continuous mainland with the rich district of Mexico (p. 63).

In the next year (1565) the Spaniards, under Pedro Melendez de Avila (p. 268), destroyed the French colony, and built the town and fort of St. Augustine to protect the hidden treasures of the Apalachian hills, and to prevent future encroachments on American soil by heretics. St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, put an end to the Huguenot designs upon Florida. When English projects for colonization were revived after Drake's return from his famous voyage, a site was chosen further to the northward, within the limits of the State of North Carolina. This was the original 'Virginia,' explored under the direction of Raleigh by Amadas and

Barlow in 1584, and colonized by Lane in 1585. Drake, when returning from his great expedition of that year, visited the shores of Florida, destroyed the fort of St. Augustine, and brought back the colonists whom Lane had left in 'Virginia.' Drake also brought to England from St. Augustine a Frenchman and a Spaniard, both of whom had resided there six years. The old interest in Florida revived in Hakluyt's breast, and he hastened to interview them. It might perhaps be supposed that the apostle of colonization would question them as to the commodities of the country, the prospects of corn-growing and cattle-breeding, the districts best adapted for planting the vine and olive, and the most suitable situations for settlements, in the event of the country being occupied by Englishmen. Nothing of the sort seems to have occurred to Hakluyt. He simply asked whether anything more was known about the mines. From Pedro Morales, the Spaniard, he learned that the Spaniards expected to find the mountains of Apalachi, where there was abundance of gold and crystal, somewhere to the north-westward of the St. Helena river. Morales had himself seen a superb diamond, said to have been brought from these mountains. Near them was the city called La Grand Copal, believed by the Spaniards to be wealthy and exceeding great. None of them had entered it, though some had seen it in the distance. The French fifer, Nicolas Borgoignon (p. 266), told substantially the same story. The Apalachian mountains were rich in crystal, gold, rubies, and diamonds. To make passage unto these mountains, it was needful to have store of hatchets to give to the Indians; pick-axes must also be taken, to break the

of doubt as to the weakness of Spain on the American coast was removed.

It remains to add a few words as to the narratives before us. It has been often regretted that the great seamen who conducted these voyages did not hand them down to posterity in memoirs composed by themselves. Contemporaries felt this especially in the case of the two circumnavigators of the globe, Drake and Cavendish. Hugh Holland, amongst his commendatory rhymes on that most delightful of tourists, Thomas Coryat, hints as much in these whimsical couplets:—

> 'What do you tell me of your Drakes and Candishes?
> We never were beholding to *their* standishes!
> This man hath manners seen, and men, outlandish,
> And WRIT the same. So did not Drake, nor Candish.'

Drake, who was an able speaker, a competent master of written prose, and no mean adept in that pleasing species of verse which lies on the border between poetry and doggrel, was quite capable of becoming the chronicler of his magnificent exploits. Nor was he by any means indifferent to his fame. A few years before his death he set about collecting memoirs of his voyages with the intention of editing them. Apparently he was dissatisfied with the figure which he makes in Hakluyt's first folio, then recently issued; for the first and only narrative which he actually prepared for the press was an account of his third voyage to the Spanish main, made with the *Pacha* and *Swan* in 1572–3 (see p. 193), which is represented in Hakluyt only by a meagre and inaccurate note from a foreign source. The substance of the narrative had been compiled by one Philip Nichols, Preacher, from information furnished by

gentlemen engaged in the expedition. Drake revised it, made some additions, and prefixed a Dedicatory Epistle to the Queen (Jan. 1, 1592). This ingenious composition consists of a single sentence, which fills two middling-sized quarto pages, contains over three hundred words, and runs fourteen feet in length of type. Yet it has nothing wordy or pompous about it. Studiously modest and graceful, it is a fair specimen of the extinct art of enwreathing many phrases into an immense period: sentences of larger compass are to be found in the prose of Milton. The work was published thirty years after Drake's death[1]. Those parts of the narrative in which Drake's hand is traceable, excellent as they are, scarcely justify the suggestion that a complete account of the Famous Voyage from his pen would probably have rivalled the masterpieces of Xenophon and Caesar.

Hawkins is not only one of the great leaders of English enterprise, but an author. His account of the Third Voyage was manifestly penned in response to a demand for some authoritative statement of the circumstances in which this expedition came to its disastrous end. The narrative in question, though straightforward and business-like, as befitted a responsible official like the Treasurer of the Navy, is somewhat jejune, and is largely made up from the narrative of Philips, already in Hakluyt's possession.

Frobisher belonged to the class of gentlemen whose education has been neglected. Sent to sea at an early age, he had few opportunities of practising literary

[1] 'Sir Francis Drake Revived. Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age to follow his Noble Steps for Gold and Silver.' (1626.)

mountains, which shone so brightly in the day-time, that men might not behold them, and therefore travelled thither by night. Both Morales and Borgoignon bore witness to the general desire on the part of the Spaniards in Florida to explore in this direction. Applications, they said, were sometimes made to Philip for licence to do so, but were always refused, 'for fear lest the English or French would enter into the same action, once known.'

The predominance of the gold and silver of the New World in all conceptions relating to its occupation by Englishmen is curiously illustrated by the story of Frobisher's North-West project. His first voyage resulted in the discovery of an inlet which had some appearance of being the long-talked-of North-West passage; in the third, he drifted into Hudson's Strait, to which this probability attached in a higher degree. Neither of them was seriously explored. No sooner was it ascertained that gold and silver were to be had than the pretence of discovery was entirely dropped, and the project became a mere mining adventure; and when it appeared that its result in this aspect was a complete failure, Frobisher's scheme was summarily abandoned.

Of the various methods by which Englishmen sought to take their share in the treasure of the New World that of Drake must be admitted to have been the most practical. Drake claimed to have suffered certain wrongs in the course of a commerce which according to Spanish practice was illicit, though according to the English interpretation of commercial treaties perfectly lawful. The first of these injuries had been committed at

Rio de la Hacha, in 1565–6, when he was there with another captain named John Lovell. The second had resulted from the attack made on the squadron of Hawkins by the Spanish Viceroy in the port of San Juan de Ulua in 1568 (p. 77). These injuries, in the latter of which Elizabeth had shared, were deemed to justify unlimited reprisals on the goods of Spaniards generally, the royal treasure of course not excepted. Drake did the cause of English colonization an inestimable service. He finally proved the inability of the Spaniards to keep other nations out of the New World. The destruction of the French settlement in Florida had thrown English plans for colonization into abeyance. The immediate effect of the Famous Voyage was to revive them. Drake had discovered an immense district on the Pacific shore, every part of which gave promise of gold and silver (pp. 218, 219), taken possession of it on Elizabeth's behalf, and given it the name of New Albion. California, for this it was, was exactly the sort of country which the elder Hakluyt's instructions, drawn up for the guidance of Frobisher (see page 84), directed the explorer to look out for when the North-West passage had been traversed, and he was coasting the Pacific shore on his way to Cathay. No wonder that the search for the passage was renewed by John Davis in 1585, 1586, and 1587. Gilbert had meanwhile been exploring Newfoundland: Raleigh's captains had made their first voyage to 'Virginia' (1584). When Drake returned from his great expedition of 1585, destroying the fort of St. Augustine on his way, the last vestige

composition. His extant letters are for the most part ill spelt and worse expressed; that which he indited in Meta Incognita to the five English captives (p. 122) contrasts so favourably with his general style that we might suppose it to have been written for him by some one else, but for the fact that Best, not without a polite sneer at the homeliness of the language, expressly attributes the authorship to Frobisher. Best was a careful and conscientious writer, if not a brilliant one: and to him, among the authors of the narratives in the present volume, the palm of general merit undoubtedly belongs. Best, a gentleman who had been in the service of Sir Christopher Hatton, had received the ordinary grammar-school education of the time, and his syntax often runs in a Latin rather than an English mould. If Best has a fault, it is that he takes the expeditions in which he served, and all that belongs to them, including himself, somewhat too seriously. Feeling sure that they cannot but largely redound to the everlasting renown of the nation (p. 145), he displays a harmless pride in dwelling on his own share in them, and never forgets that he was one of the council of five captains who were summoned from time to time by Frobisher to assist him with their advice. He is careful to state what happened to vessels which lost the company of the others, as for instance in his account of the adventures of the *Gabriel* (p. 160); this is by way of introducing that portion of his narrative which describes the adventures of his own vessel and her two consorts before they regained the rest of the fleet (p. 165). His reasoning in favour of continuing the search for the other ships, instead of sailing

homeward, as the 'fearfuller sort of mariners' inclined to do, is set out at needless length (p. 167); his discovery of ore on the island which he named 'Best's Blessing,' and perilous voyage up the straits in the cranky pinnace wanting the knees (p. 173), until the English flag was descried in the distance, his regaining his general, and final return in triumph to his own vessel, are all described with similar minuteness. Best devotes special attention to topography and ethnology; the description of Meta Incognita and its inhabitants, which concludes his last narrative, is among the most interesting things in the volume. His account of the struggles of the fleet with the ice and storm (pp. 143–147) is a striking and truthful picture of the perils of the Arctic Seas, and the whole forms a splendid story of English pluck and endurance. Best was killed in a duel in 1584.

The general reader will probably find the narratives of Best inferior in interest to that of the second voyage of Hawkins by John Sparke. This is due not altogether to the picturesqueness and ease with which the story is told, but very much to the wide area which it covers and the great variety of geographical and ethnological matter which it embraces. The negroes of Africa, the Caribs of the West Indies, the Redskins of Florida, with their physical features, arms, food-provision, manners and customs, are all described by Sparke with that freshness and vivacity which comes of first acquaintance with strange worlds. Sparke takes great interest in animals: witness his descriptions of the camel, the young of which, he notes, is used for food (p. 13), the alligator (p. 43), and the turtle, the flesh of

Drake in 1577-80 or in 1585-6: they rather fall under Raleigh's classification—'journeys of picory for the pillage of ordinary prizes.' Cavendish's hard, jealous, and suspicious character is illustrated by the torture incident (see p. 363), and by the firing on the Ladrone natives (see p. 384). Yet the Second English Circumnavigation had considerable moral effect: its 'admirable prosperity' stimulated in a marked degree the expansion of Elizabeth's latter years and of the earliest Stuart time. Cavendish's return in 1588 embodied, in one gorgeous picture, the spirit and achievements of England's New Oceanic Age.

Gilbert's occupation of Newfoundland was intended as the first step in a scheme drawn up by himself for expelling the Spaniards from America and transferring it to the English crown. This bold project was formed and proposed for the Queen's adoption, as a defensive measure, at a critical juncture. In the latter part of 1577 Don John of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, who had formed a wild scheme for invading England, marrying Mary Stuart, deposing Elizabeth, and restoring the Pope's authority, forced the States of the Netherlands to recommence hostilities. The States were compelled to seek foreign support, and in default of obtaining it from England, would certainly have had recourse to France. To prevent this Elizabeth was compelled to come to an agreement with them, and to support them openly with men and money. In view of an impending war with Philip, Englishmen were already meditating on the best means of striking at the power of Spain; and Gilbert's project was propounded for the Queen's consideration two months before she concluded her treaty with the States.

The original draft, dated November 6, 1577, and now preserved in the Public Record Office, has been signed by Gilbert, though the signature has been incompletely defaced, probably by his own hand; and there are some indications in the preface that it was intended to be anonymous. Some have supposed it to have been really the work of Raleigh. This suggestion is contradicted by internal evidence, and we believe Gilbert to have been the author of it. Though he modestly describes himself as 'a silly (simple) member of the commonweal of England' he was then a distinguished soldier, and held the office of General Surveyor of all horses, armour, weapons, munitions, and artillery throughout England. Probably the scheme embodied ideas more or less widely entertained at the time among English military men, and Gilbert did little more than reduce these ideas to a definite form.

'It is more than time,' Gilbert writes, apparently alluding to France as well as Spain, 'to pare their nails by the stumps that are most ready prest to pluck the crown, as it were in despite of God, from your Highness' head, not only by foreign force but also by stirring up home factions.' The chief means to this end, he says, is the weakening of their navies; and this can be effected not only by open hostilities but by 'colourable means.' What these are is set forth at some length. Licence should be granted, under letters patent, 'to discover and inhabit some strange place, with special provisoes for their safeties whom policy requireth to have most annoyed, by which means the doing of the contrary shall be imputed to the executors' fault.' The writer then proceeds in greater detail:—

'To set forth, under such like colour of discovery, certain ships of war to the N(ew). L(and)., which with your good licence I will undertake without your Majesty's charge. In which place they shall certainly once in the year meet in effect all the great shipping of France, Spain, and Portugal; where I would have them take and bring away, with their freights and ladings, the best of those ships, and to burn the worst; and those that they take to carry into Holland or Zeland, or as pirates to shroud themselves for a small time upon your Majesty's coasts, under the friendship of some certain Vice-admiral of this realm, who may be afterwards committed to prison, as in displeasure for the same, against whose returns six months' provision of bread, and four of drink, to be laid in some apt place, together with munition to serve for the number of 5,000 or 6,000 men; which men, with certain other ships of war being in a readiness, shall pretend to inhabit St. Lawrence island, the late discovered countries in the north, or elsewhere, and not to join with the others but in some certain remote place at sea.

'The setting forth of shipping for this service will amount to no great matter, and the return shall certainly be with great gain. For the N(ew-land). F(ish). is a principal, and rich, and everywhere vendible merchandise; and by the gain thereof shipping, victual, munition, and the transporting of 5,000 or 6,000 soldiers may be defrayed.'

The fleet of war-ships and the five or six thousand men thus equipped were to be employed in the conquest of the West Indies. Proper positions were to be seized in the islands of Cuba and St. Domingo, and military

colonies to be established in each as bases for greater operations. An essential feature of the scheme was the plunder of homeward-bound Spanish vessels, whose course lay along the shore of Florida. The resources of the West Indian islands, as Gilbert points out, were sufficient to render the intended colonies there self-supporting. The possession of the entire Newfoundland fishery would supply another and a not less important base for operations. Newfoundland lay nearer to England, and would be of material use in securing for England the North-west passage by way of the lands recently reached by Frobisher, who had just returned from his second voyage. While Gilbert's project was under discussion at the Queen's council table the London assayers were disputing over the ore Frobisher had brought back; and one effect of his voyages had been to draw increased attention to Newfoundland, which was regarded as belonging to England, though territorial possession had never been taken, and the fishery had always been open to the vessels of other nations.

Before Frobisher's discovery of the supposed mineral wealth of Meta Incognita in 1576 English fishermen had formed but a small fraction of the total number of 'Newlanders.' Hakluyt, wishing to prove that Englishmen had not altogether neglected the shores claimed by England in virtue of Cabot's discovery, cites no better evidence than an Act of Parliament passed in 1548 to protect fishermen going to Iceland and Newfoundland from the exactions of Admiralty officials. Perhaps these exactions had something to do with the slackness of Englishmen to take advantage of the Newfoundland fisheries. In 1574, two years before Frobisher sailed,

not more than thirty English vessels frequented the Newfoundland waters; in 1578 the number had increased to fifty.

The English Newlanders were still far outnumbered by the French and Spanish, and formed only one-seventh of the whole fleet[1]. The reason assigned for this disproportion is that the Iceland waters were more conveniently situated for English sailors, and that England had carried on a flourishing trade with Iceland long before Cabot sailed for the New World[2]. A more definite reason is given for the increase after 1576. The Newfoundland fishing trade had previously been chiefly in the hands of Bristol men. It was now commonly reported among the fishermen of Devon and Cornwall that their neighbours of Bristol were making vast profits in Newfoundland, and that these were partly due to some other source than the sea, in other words, to the discovery of metal ore; and Cornish and Devonshire

[1] The numbers are as follows:—

	Ships.	*Tonnage.*
French and Breton	150	7,000
Spanish (besides 50 sail engaged in whale fishing)	100	5,000 to 6,000
Portuguese	50	3,000
English (four years previously only 30)	50	3,000

The best ships, both in construction and in 'furniture of munition' or armament, were the English and Spanish; next came the French, the Portuguese last.

[2] As an illustration of this it may be mentioned that the roll on which Cabot's patent is filed ('French Roll,' 11 Henry VII, m. 23, in the Public Record Office) includes two licences to English shipowners to trade to Iceland—one to John Beryf the elder of Brightlingsea, another to John Waynflete of Southwold. Beryf was apparently the father of the shipowner of the same name who by his will dated in 1521 charged a legacy of £40 to Brightlingsea church on his ships the *Barbara* and the *Maryflower* 'if God send them well home.'

men now ventured across the Atlantic in great numbers. That gold existed in the mountains of Florida was universally believed. Frobisher had found it in Meta Incognita. Had either gold or silver now been discovered in Newfoundland? If so, the time was come for action, for the Spaniards were to the English as four to one in Newfoundland waters, and the French were nearly as strong. Should either nation obtain a footing on the soil of the island, and erect fortifications, it might prove difficult to dislodge them.

Gilbert's 'Discourse to the Queen' throws a side-light on the treaty made by Elizabeth with the Dutch States in January, 1578. Probably the forty vessels of war to be furnished by the Netherlanders for service under the Queen's captains were intended for some such service as is contemplated in Gilbert's proposals. The Machiavellian suggestion of 'special provisoes,' ostensibly preventing adventurers from attacking the Spaniards or the French under pretence of discovering and inhabiting strange lands, has a prominent place in the letters patent granted to him in June, 1578. If Gilbert, it is provided, his heirs or assigns, shall rob or spoil the subjects of any prince in league and amity with England, he or they shall within a limited time make restitution and satisfaction on penalty of being outlawed. What followed shows how little was meant by all this. At the end of the summer, Gilbert collected a fleet of eleven vessels manned by 500 men, most of them being desperadoes who had joined him with the sole idea of participating in Spanish plunder. By the middle of September he was for his own part ready to sail. But the crews proved an unruly mob, and their

which, however, he compares to nothing more savoury than veal (p. 50), the bonito and flying-fish, flamingo, and pelican (pp. 65, 66). He was especially struck by the snakes of Florida, cooked and eaten by the French, ever surpassing the English in gastronomy, if in nothing else, and by its oysters, which the Indians roasted in the shells, reckless of the pearls which they spoiled in the process. One piece of argument which Sparke introduces is truly amusing. Having ascertained that Florida possesses unicorns, he is led to conclude that it probably abounds in lions. The reason is because 'every beast hath his enemy.' Thus the wolf is the natural enemy of the sheep, the polecat of the rabbit, the rhinoceros of the elephant. So is it with the lion and the unicorn; and where the one is, as in Florida, the other will probably be found there also.

Compared with Best and Sparke the two narratives of Drake's voyages are somewhat disappointing. It may be said, on the other hand, that if the Famous Voyage and the Great Armada had been treated in the style of Best, each would have required a volume to itself. Pretty's narrative of the Famous Voyage is good as far as it goes, but there is too little of it. Many facts necessary to a distinct conception of the expedition are omitted altogether. The writer who constructed on the outlines of Pretty's narrative the work known as the 'World Encompassed[1],' which is four times as long, and contains little further information of real value, rushed into the other extreme. Fortunately that

[1] 'The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake. Carefully collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this Employment, and divers others his Followers.' (1628).

part which describes Drake's abode on the Californian coast is worked out with singular care and fulness. This earliest known description of the Indians of the North Pacific shore is of the deepest interest, especially when we reflect that the scene of Drake's sojourn was possibly the bay of San Francisco, which in some old maps, as in that prefixed to Burke's 'Account of European Settlements in America,' bears the name of 'Port of Sir Francis Drake.' Another interesting point is that in this voyage Englishmen first beheld the Cape of Good Hope, and pronounced it 'the fairest cape in the whole circumference of the earth' (p. 229).

The narrative of Biggs was cut short in the middle by the death of the writer and completed by another hand. He possessed a certain power of description, but even had he finished his narrative it could scarcely have stood as an adequate account of the important expedition it commemorates. Something of this kind probably passed through Hakluyt's mind when he inserted the 'Resolution of the Land Captains,' which is perhaps from the pen of Carlile.

While the narratives of Best give a fair idea of the methods of peaceful seamanship, neither Pretty nor Biggs furnishes anything like an adequate description of a sea-fight. By way of supplying this defect we append a lively sketch extracted from a work written some years later (1626)—the 'Accidence for Young Seamen' of the celebrated Virginian hero Captain John Smith, as improved in the subsequent edition called the 'Seaman's Grammar.' The details do not differ materially from the practice in the time of Drake.

The voyages of the adventurer Cavendish possess no such political importance as, for example, those of

captains appear to have been divided in opinion as to the course to be pursued. While the men were brawling and roystering in the streets of Plymouth, the captains were wrangling with him over the scheme of the expedition. Gilbert probably adhered in opinion to his original plan of proceeding straight to Newfoundland, though he was compelled to abandon it and sail for the West Indies. Four of his captains deserted him with their ships and crews, and those who remained seem to have induced him to change his plan, though Newfoundland was still the pretended object of the voyage. With the view, perhaps, of giving further colour to this pretence, Gilbert, shortly before sailing, directed the elder Hakluyt to make inquiries about Newfoundland of one Anthony Parkhurst, a Bristol shipowner, who was known to have made several voyages thither. It may, however, be that Gilbert still had hopes of taking Newfoundland in the course of his voyage home, and looked forward to making practical use of the information to be obtained from Parkhurst.

Pursuant to Gilbert's instructions, Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple (his namesake, the preacher, was still residing at Oxford) dispatched a messenger to Parkhurst with a letter of inquiry, instructing him to induce Parkhurst to 'write at large' in reply to it. The purport of the questions may be inferred from Parkhurst's answer[1]. What was the nature of the soil and climate of Newfoundland, and what were its natural

[1] 'A Letter written to Master Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, containing a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by Master Anthony Parkhurst, Gentleman, the 13th day of November, 1578.' (Hakluyt. *Voyages*, vol. iii. pp. 132–4.)

productions—the timber and fruit trees, fish, birds, game? How were the fish taken, and how many fishermen of different nations frequented it? What were the meetest parts to inhabit or colonize, especially with reference to convenience for erecting forts so as to make the English lords of the whole fishing in a small time, and sending from thence wood and coal, with all necessaries, to Labrador, lately discovered (i.e. the mines of Meta Incognita)? What minerals might be gotten in Newfoundland itself? Would Parkhurst undertake an expedition under commission from Gilbert, and make a true and perfect discovery of the Newfoundland waters, including the river of Canada and the firm land of Cape Breton? Parkhurst was ready and willing to do so. There was copper and iron, he assures Hakluyt, for he had brought home of the ore of both sorts. Of the precious metals he gives no hopes, but suggests that they may possibly exist at no great distance to the southward, and that here also would be found good fishing grounds. Parkhurst applauds rather than encourages Hakluyt's idea of converting the Indians to Christianity. Yet he trusts that the time will come when the people of those parts will be redeemed from out of the captivity of that spiritual Pharaoh, the devil. The phrase is interesting, for it is evidently echoed in Hayes's narrative (p. 279).

Whether Parkhurst's letter, which is dated November 13, 1578, reached Gilbert before the latter sailed from Plymouth, on the 19th of the same month, is not clear. In any case it made no difference to the conduct of the expedition, which sailed by the southern route, evidently with the object of striking a blow at the West Indies.

All that is known of the result is that one of the ships, of which Miles Morgan was captain (see p. 284), was lost in an encounter with the Spaniards, and that Gilbert returned in the following year, having done little or nothing to effect his purpose. Whatever his operations may have been, there was every reason for throwing a veil over them. Gilbert desired to repeat his attempt in 1579, but was forbidden to do so. Apparently he was given to understand that direct attacks on the Spaniards must be postponed, and that he must confine himself to the North, where there was an ample and perfectly legitimate field for English enterprise. Meanwhile he was sent on service in Ireland, and his project, thus limited, seems to have had little attraction for adventurers. At length a few others were induced to join him, and preparations were made for renewing his designs the year before his patent of 1578, which had a duration of only six years, came to an end.

Little hope seems to have been entertained at home that fortune would favour Gilbert's enterprise. Elizabeth, impressed with the fact that Gilbert 'had no good hap at sea,' wished some one else to be invested with the general command, and forbade her new favourite, Raleigh, from accompanying him in person. Through Raleigh, she commanded Gilbert to have his portrait painted before sailing; sent him, as a token of favour, a trinket representing an anchor guided by a lady, and charged him to have as good care of himself as if she herself were on board. Raleigh's words, at the conclusion of the letter in which he conveyed to his brother the Queen's commands, seem to imply that he also shared in the general apprehension. 'I commend you,'

he ominously writes, 'to the will and protection of God, who sends us such life or death as He shall please, or hath appointed.'

Gilbert's preparations for departure appear to have been well advanced when a stranger arrived in England, whose connexion with Gilbert's enterprise has secured him a curious immortality. Stephen Parmenius was a young graduate of the University of Buda, who after three years spent in visiting the principal Universities of the Continent at length made his way to Oxford. Here he became acquainted with the younger Hakluyt, who informed him of Gilbert's proposed expedition, and subsequently introduced him to Gilbert in London. Parmenius, moved to enthusiasm by the prospect of a new England to be founded in North America, produced a Latin poem more than three hundred lines long in honour of the occasion, and sent it to Gilbert. After painting, in rather turgid language, the reign of peace and liberty about to be inaugurated, he laments that the fates forbid him to hope for a share in it. He would willingly go out as a colonist; the Muses, he remarks, would emigrate with him, and perhaps inspire him to sing the beginnings of a great nation in immortal verse. Alas! he must return to Hungary and the horrors of war, and some Oxford poet will doubtless profit by the opportunity which he has unhappily lost[1]. Gilbert seems to

[1] O mihi felicem si fas conscendere puppim,
Et tecum, patria (pietas ignosce) relicta,
Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores
Tecum una Aonias, illic exordia gentis
Prima novae ad seros transmittere posse nepotes!
Sed me fata vetant, memoraturumque canora
Inclyta facta tuba, ad clades miserabilis Istri
Invitum retrahunt. His, his me fata reservant;

have been touched by this appeal. He took the young verse-maker with him; and when the captain of the *Delight* returned in August, with the news that Gilbert had anchored at St. John's, and taken possession of Newfoundland to the use of the English crown, he carried with him a letter from Parmenius to Hakluyt, which the latter printed in his collection [1]. From this we gather that Hakluyt had some thoughts of following in another vessel, joining Gilbert's expedition, and seeing Newfoundland for himself. Had he done so, the chances are that, like Gilbert and Parmenius, he would never have returned. Fortunately he found no opportunity of risking his life in an expedition directed by Gilbert, whose career as a maritime adventurer was unfortunate from beginning to end.

There can be little doubt that this was partly Gilbert's own fault. An opinionated man, extremely jealous of his own credit, he took his own line in all things, paying little regard to the judgement or experience of others; and his violent temper evidently prevented those about him from pushing their remonstrances beyond a certain point. If Clarke, the sailing-master of the *Delight*, is to be believed [2], the loss of that vessel, and the

Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
Aut veteres populos, aut nostro incognita coelo
Munera naturae, dum spreto Helicone manebit
Illa Aganippaeis sacrata Oxonia musis.'

[1] Vol. iii. p. 161.

[2] 'A Relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the *Delight* going for the discovery of Norumbega with Sir Humfrey Gilbert, 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight.' (Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 163.)

consequent failure of the expedition, is attributable to nothing but Gilbert's perversity. When the ships were within fifteen leagues of the island of Sablon, he came up to the *Delight* in his own light vessel, and consulted Clarke as to the course. Clarke unhesitatingly advised west-south-west, because the wind was in the south, the night at hand, and there were unknown sands stretching far out to sea from the shore they were nearing. Gilbert, however, commanded him to go west-north-west. Clarke in vain represented that his own ship would be upon the sands before daylight. Gilbert angrily replied that Clarke must be out in his reckoning, and commanded him in the Queen's name to do as he was bidden. Clarke obeyed; and his vessel was on the sands by seven o'clock the next morning. Gilbert, in the *Squirrel*, changed his course in time. The *Delight* became a wreck, and the young poet Parmenius was amongst those who perished in her.

On this occasion Gilbert was saved from shipwreck by the light draught of his own little vessel, which carried as a figurehead a red squirrel, the armorial crest of the Gilbert family. Possibly this gave him the notion that he would be safer in this mere cock-boat of ten tons than in the *Golden Hind*; at all events, not merely contrary to advice, but disregarding the 'vehement persuasion and entreaty' of his friends, he insisted on remaining in her, overladen as her decks were with guns and fighting gear, when re-crossing the Atlantic. He was annoyed, it appears, by a report which had spread among the sailors that he was afraid of the sea; and he gave as his reason for remaining that he would not forsake the little crew with

whom he had braved so many perils. Perhaps he wished to avoid the company of others, and to ponder alone over his experiences and plans for the future. Whatever may have been his real reason, his persistence cost him his life. The *Squirrel* foundered in a storm, and the bodings of evil which the voyage had called forth were literally fulfilled.

The simple narrative of Hayes probably gives a better idea of the expedition than we should have gained from the intended Latin heroics of Parmenius. Hayes has a vivid conception of Gilbert's singular personality; and this is so diffused throughout the substance of the story as to give the narrative something of a dramatic aspect. The sombre colouring which predominates is partly due to the theological ideas of the time. The writer believes the end of the world to be near, and that all things are ordered by Divine Providence with a view to it. Gilbert's obstinate self-will, he hints, frustrated a project in itself too worldly. His long-cherished plans, his high hopes, undamped by successive misfortunes, his resolute prosecution of his voyage in the teeth of unforeseen difficulties, his confidence in himself and assurance of ultimate success, are all as naught. God merely allows him to play his part, like a puppet, in a foreordained scheme involving his failure, to the end that his intemperate humours may be purged away, and he may be refined and made nearer to the Divine image, before it pleases God to take him to Himself.

Barlow's story of the adventures met with by Raleigh's first exploring party in North America has all the freshness and gaiety of an idyl. His description of

the sweet smell wafted to the voyagers from the American shore, as from some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers, was noticed by Bacon, and utilized by Dryden to flatter one of his patrons :—

> 'And as the Indies were not found, before
> Those rich perfumes, which from the happy shore
> The winds upon their balmy wings conveyed,
> Whose guilty sweetness first their world betrayed;
> So by your counsels we are brought to view
> A rich and undiscovered world in you.'

The picture of the people dwelling on this happy shore, mannerly and civil as any of Europe, most gentle, loving and faithful, and such as live after the manner of the golden age, and entertaining the strangers with all love and kindness, is truly delightful. No wonder that people rushed in the next year with Greenville to take possession of this transatlantic paradise. There was another element to be reckoned with. In the course of his narrative Barlow mentions the sanguinary inter-tribal wars waged by the Indians, and the partial depopulation of the country which had followed. He seems, however, to have thought the bow and arrow no match for the European arquebus, which inspired the Indian braves with abject terror; and it never seems to have occurred to him that these amiable creatures might one day turn ferociously on the English strangers and massacre them. Even Lane, who was left by Greenville in charge of the original settlement, seems at first to have been equally unsuspicious. In the extract from a letter written by him to the elder Hakluyt, printed by the younger Hakluyt in his collection, nothing is said of the natives except that they are

'most courteous.' Everything is going on smoothly. Virginia is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven. It abounds with sweet trees, yielding sundry rich and pleasant gums. There are grapes of such greatness, yet wild, as France, Spain, and Italy have no greater. There are several sorts of apothecary drugs. There are several kinds of flax; one of these is as fine as silk, and is produced by a grass which grows like a weed. The ear of maize has four hundred grains, and the stalk makes good and perfect sugar. Whatsoever commodities England procures from Spain, France, Italy, and the eastern parts, as wines of all sorts, oils, flax, resins, pitch, frankincense, currants, sugars, and the like, these parts abound with them all. There is great abundance of sundry other rich commodities found in no other parts of the world, east or west. And besides that it is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world, the continent is of an huge and unknown greatness, and the climate so wholesome that none of the company had fallen sick since they touched land. If Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, being inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it.

This golden prospect was rudely dissipated. Lane's explorations excited the suspicions of the natives. The chief, or 'king,' of Roanoke changed his attitude, sought to cut off the food supplies of the English, and at length organized a conspiracy to massacre their leaders. The grass huts in which they lodged were to be fired in the night, and each, as he rushed out into the darkness, was to be clubbed from behind. The plot was discovered

in time, and the conspirators were surprised and shot down; but the position of the colonists could only have been maintained by reinforcements, and large importations of food and ammunition. Failing these, they were well advised in returning to England at the first opportunity; and Lane's report to Raleigh shows that his first impressions had been modified. He thought that nothing short of rich mines, or the discovery of a passage to the Pacific, would induce people to remain in Virginia. The fifteen men shortly afterwards left on the site by Greenville, in ignorance of all that had happened to Lane's party, were no doubt attacked and overpowered by the Indians soon after Greenville's return; and the same fate befell most of the company of settlers taken out by White in 1587. Raleigh's intended settlement had failed because it had not been planned on a larger scale, and received no adequate support from home. One cause of its being neglected in the ensuing year was the Spanish invasion of England in 1588. But there can be little doubt that, if the search for the emigrants had been properly prosecuted in the years following, some of them would have been found alive, and the colony might have been re-established. Raleigh, who had ships at sea engaged in plundering the Spaniards, has been severely blamed for not doing so; and Bacon seems to allude to the circumstances in a well-known passage at the end of his Essay on Plantations. 'It is,' he says, 'the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.'

In preparing the text of the narratives for the press

the plan usually adopted in reprinting our English Bible and Shakespeare has been followed. The obsolete spelling and punctuation have been abandoned; but whatever is archaic in the substance of words and the structure of sentences is carefully preserved. Hakluyt's text has been preferred to first editions, where such exist. Hakluyt was an excellent editor: the alterations and omissions which he makes always improve the narrative. Best, for instance, referring to the alleged fact that the only bit of auriferous stone which existed on Hall's Island (see pp. 94, 102) was the very one to be picked up and carried on board, solemnly ascribes it to the intervention of the Almighty. This was too much for Hakluyt, who strikes the passage out. The syntax of the narratives is often harsh, involved, and imperfect. In general whatever is intelligible has been allowed to pass without alteration. In one or two places a word has been inserted in brackets for the purpose of making the sense clearer, but in no case has the text been unnecessarily disturbed. A few manifest errors have been corrected. Here and there some lines have been omitted; occasionally a word or phrase calculated to offend the reader's eye has been replaced by another. In the former case, the passage is marked by asterisks, in the latter by an obelus.

The portraits in this volume, that of Raleigh excepted, are reproductions from engravings in Holland's *Heroölogia.* Raleigh's portrait is from a miniature belonging to the Duke of Rutland, to whom, and to Mr. Stebbing, in whose *Life of Raleigh* this reproduction first appeared, we are indebted for permission to make use of it.

LIFE AND WORKS OF HAKLUYT.

'RICHARD HAKLUYT, Preacher,' as he usually described himself, to distinguish him from his cousin, Richard Hakluyt, Esquire, of Eyton in Herefordshire, and the Middle Temple—'Learned Hakluyt,' or 'Industrious Hakluyt,' as he was commonly styled by his contemporaries, was probably born in or near London about 1553. The family appears to be purely English, the name being simply an abbreviated spelling of Hacklewit or Hacklewight (compare 'Udall' for 'Woodall,' &c.). While at Westminster School, where he was a Queen's Scholar, young Hakluyt often visited his kinsman in the Temple. Both his parents died while he was a child: possibly the kinsman was his guardian. The elder Hakluyt, an enthusiastic student of cosmography, showed the youth for the first time the new map of the world, and explained to him the vast revolution in nautical matters which had recently taken place. Hakluyt became deeply impressed with the subject, and resolved to dedicate himself to the furtherance of maritime enterprise by Englishmen. In due time (1570) he proceeded to Oxford as a Student of Christ Church,—being contemporary with Raleigh, a commoner of Oriel,—was admitted to the degree of B.A. in 1574, and to that of M.A. in 1577. He afterwards lectured in the Schools on cosmography,

being, as he claims in his earliest printed work, the first to illustrate in public the difference between the old imperfectly-composed and the new lately-reformed maps, which he performed to the general contentment of his auditory. The work in question, entitled 'Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America and the Islands adjacent to the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons, &c.,' was published in 1582. In the next year Hakluyt quitted Oxford and went to Paris as chaplain to the English Ambassador. Here he wrote 'A Particular Discourse concerning Western Discoveries' (1584, not printed at the time), translated the Journal of Laudonnière, and published a new and corrected edition of the 'Decades' of Peter Martyr, with marginal notes and a copious index, dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh (1587). The object of this publication was to incite other maritime nations, especially the English, to emulate the deeds of the Spaniards in the New World. In his dedicatory epistle to Raleigh he draws attention to the fact that Peter Martyr thrice describes Sebastian Cabot as the discoverer of 'Bacalaos' or Newfoundland, having sailed thither, accompanied by three hundred Englishmen, pursuant to a patent from Henry VII in 1496, and coasted the shores of America from the Arctic circle to the latitude of the Straits of Gibraltar (36°)[1]. Hakluyt regarded Cabot as the English Columbus. He salutes Raleigh,

[1] It was not Sebastian Cabot, it should here be observed, but his father, John, who commanded the small bark, carrying only eighteen persons, which first reached the American continent from England. Sebastian may possibly have been on board. The year was 1497; and they probably did no more than coast along Cape Breton Island, etc.

who was then preparing his third colonizing expedition to 'Virginia,' as the English Cortes; and charges him to let the exploits of his Spanish prototype, recorded in the musical prose of Peter Martyr, ring in his ears by day, and keep him awake at night, even as the trophies of Miltiades did Themistocles. In conclusion Hakluyt mentions that he proposes shortly to publish his Collection of English Voyages, arranged in an orderly series, and cleansed from the dust of ages, in order that Englishmen may behold their inheritance, and seize the opportunity of recovering it.

In the next year (1588) Hakluyt returned to England, and in 1589 published in one volume folio the first edition of the great work on which his fame mainly rests. He entitled it 'The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation,' and dedicated it to Sir Francis Walsingham. A second and enlarged edition, in three volumes, was published 1598–1600, and dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil. The first and second volumes deal with the Old World, the third volume with the New. The first volume includes 'Voyages made to the North and North-east quarters of the world,' beginning with the fabulous conquest of Iceland by King Arthur in A.D. 517, extracted from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and ending with an account of 'The Vanquishing of the Spanish Armada,' translated from a Dutch chronicler. It is composed of miscellaneous material relating to voyages in the northern seas, including the Baltic, and the commerce of the countries to which they give access, especially Russia. Among the most interesting pieces contained in it is the metrical 'Libel of English Policy, exhorting all England to keep

DIRECTIONS FOR TAKING A PRIZE.

(From Chap. III. of *The Seaman's Grammar*, by Captain John Smith, sometimes Governor of Virginia and Admiral of New England. London, 1652. The editor calls it 'the masterpiece' of the book.)

'A sail!' 'How bears she [*or* stands she]? To wind-ward or lee-ward? Set him by the compass!' 'He stands right a-head [*or* on the weather-bow, *or* lee-bow].' 'Let fly your colours (if you have a consort, else not)! Out with all your sails! A steady man to the helm—sit close to keep her steady! Give him chase [*or* fetch him up]!'—'He holds his own!' 'No—we gather on him, Captain!' Out goes his flag and pendants, also his waist-cloths and top-armings, which is a long red cloth about three-quarters of a yard broad, edged on each side with calico or white linen cloth, that goeth round about the ship on the outsides of all her upper works, fore and aft, and before the cubbridge-heads [1], also about the fore- and main-tops, as well for the countenance and grace of the ship, as to cover the men from being seen. He furls and slings his main-yard; in goes his sprit-sail. Thus they use to strip themselves into their 'short sails,' or 'fighting sails,' which is, only the foresail, the main and fore top-sails, because the rest should not be fired nor spoiled; besides, they would be troublesome to handle, hinder our sights and the using our arms. He makes ready his close fights [2], fore and aft.

'Master, how stands the chase?' 'Right on head, I say.' 'Well: we shall reach him bye and bye. What! is all ready?'

[1] The bulk-heads of the fore-castle.

[2] Bulk-heads set up to cover the men while firing.

'Yea, yea.' 'Every man to his charge! Dowse your top-sail to salute him for the sea: hail him with a noise of trumpets. Whence is your ship?' 'Of *Spain*: whence is yours?' 'Of *England*.' 'Are you a merchant, or a man-of-war[1]?' 'We are of the Sea!' He waves us to leeward with his drawn sword, calls amain for the king of Spain, and springs his luff[2]. 'Give him a chase-piece with your broad-side, and run a good berth a-head of him!' 'Done, done.' 'We have the wind of him, and he tacks about.' 'Tack you about also, and keep your luff[3]! Be yare at the helm! Edge in with him! Give him a volley of small shot, also your prow and broad-side as before, and keep your luff.' 'He pays us shot for shot!' 'Well: we shall requite him!'

'What! Are you ready again?' 'Yea, yea!' 'Try him once more, as before!' 'Done, done!' 'Keep your luff and load your ordnance again: is all ready?' 'Yea, yea!' 'Edge in with him again! Begin with your bow-pieces, proceed with your broad-side, and let her fall off with the wind, to give her also your full chase, your weather broad-side, and bring her round that the stern may also discharge and your tacks close aboard again!' 'Done, done! . . . The wind veers, the sea goes too high to board her, and we are shot thorough and thorough, and between wind and water.' 'Try the pump: bear up the helm! Master, let us breathe and refresh a little, and sling a man over-board to stop the leaks:' that is to truss him up about the middle in a piece of canvas and a rope to keep him from sinking, and his arms at liberty, with a mallet in the one hand, and a plug lapped in oakum, and well tarred, in a tarpawling clout in the other, which he will quickly beat into the hole or holes the bullets made. 'What cheer, mates? Is all well?' 'All well!—All well!—All well!' 'Then make ready to bear up with him again!' And

[1] Smith's original text has 'merchants, or men of war.'
[2] Brings his ship suddenly close by the wind.
[3] Keep nearer to the wind.


IOANNES HAWKINS
Aduauncement by
dilligence

with all your great and small shot charge him, and in the smoke board him thwart the hawse, on the bow, mid-ships, or, rather than fail, on his quarter; or make fast your grapplings, if you can, to his close fights, and sheer off. 'Captain, we are foul on each other, and the ship is on fire!' 'Cut anything to get clear, and smother the fire with wet cloths.' In such a case they will presently be such friends as to help one another all they can to get clear, lest they should both burn together and sink: and if they be generous, the fire quenched, drink kindly one to another, heave their cans over-board, and then begin again as before.

'Well, Master, the day is spent; the night draws on, let us consult. Chirurgeon, look to the wounded, and wind up the slain (with each a weight or bullet at their heads and feet to make them sink, and give them three guns for their funerals). Swabber, make clean the ship. Purser, record their names. Watch, be vigilant to keep your berth to windward, that we lose him not in the night. Gunners, spunge your ordnance. Soldiers, scour your pieces. Carpenters, about your leaks. Boatswain and the rest, repair the sails and shrouds, and Cook, see you observe your directions against the morning watch.' . . . . . 'Boy, holla! Master, holla! is the kettle boiled?' 'Yea, yea!' 'Boatswain, call up the men to prayer and breakfast.'

'Boy, fetch my cellar of bottles. A health to you all, fore and aft! Courage, my hearts, for a fresh charge! Gunners, beat open the ports, and out with your lower tier, and bring me from the weather-side to the lee so many pieces as we have ports to bear upon him. Master, lay him aboard, luff for luff! Mid-ships men, see the tops and yards well manned, with stones, fire-pots, and brass balls, to throw amongst them before we enter: or if we be put off, charge them with all your great and small shot; in the smoke let us enter them in the shrouds, and every squadron at his best advantage. So, sound drums and trumpets, and SAINT GEORGE FOR ENGLAND!'

'They hang out a flag of truce!' 'Hail him amain, ABASE[1]!' (or take in his flag.) They strike their sails, and come aboard with their captain, purser, and gunner, with their commission, cocket, or bills of loading. Out goes the boat: they are launched from the ship-side. Entertain them with a cry, 'God save the captain and all the company!' with the trumpets sounding. Examine them in particular, and then conclude your conditions, with feasting, freedom, or punishment, as you find occasion. But always have as much care to their wounded as to your own; and if there be either young women or aged men, use them nobly, which is ever the nature of a generous disposition. To conclude, if you surprise him, or enter perforce, you may stow the men, rifle, pillage, or sack, and cry a prize.

[1] I. e. 'Down with your flag!' The summons to surrender. Fr. *A bas!* Sp. *Abajo!* (Compare p. 209.)

the Sea, and namely the Narrow Sea' (the English Channel, cp. post, p. 130), written between 1416 and 1438. The second volume includes the 'Voyages to the South and South-east quarters of the World, by and within the Strait of Gibraltar.' It embraces voyages to Guinea and the East Indies, and in the Atlantic as far as the Azores, which were considered to be the western-most parts of the Old World. Hence it happens that this volume contains Raleigh's narrative of Greenville's celebrated fifteen hours' fight in the *Revenge.* The third volume consists of voyages to America, beginning with its mythical discovery by the Welsh prince Madoc A.D. 1170, and proceeding directly to Columbus and Cabot. The mass of material which had accumulated in a single century is arranged as follows: (1) the North-West Passage, Newfoundland and Canada, (2) Eastern North America (Virginia and Florida); (3) Central North America (New Mexico, Cibola, and Quivira); (4) Western North America (California); (5) Mexico and the Antilles; (6) Guiana; (7) Brazil; (8) the Plate River. Hakluyt places last the voyages intended for passing the Strait of Magellan and navigating the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Of the six expeditions which had set forth with this object only two had attained it: these were the famous 'circumnavigations' of Drake and Cavendish.

Hakluyt's last publication was a translation of the account of De Soto's expedition to Florida (ante, p. xxxiii), written in Portuguese by the anonymous 'Gentleman of Elvas.' The object of this volume, which appeared in 1609, was simply to magnify the newly-founded colony of Virginia, in which he

was a shareholder, in the eyes of English capitalists; and he accordingly entitled it 'Virginia Richly Valued by the Description of Florida her Next Neighbour.'

Hakluyt's labours obtained him early and ample preferment. In 1586 he succeeded to a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Bristol, the reversion to which had been granted him a year or two previously. In 1590 he became rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk; in 1602 prebendary, and in 1603 archdeacon of Westminster; he was also a chaplain of the Savoy. He secured in 1605 the prospective living of James Town, the intended capital of the intended colony of Virginia, the value of which had been fixed in advance at the liberal sum of £500 per annum. This potential benefice Hakluyt prudently supplied by a young curate named Robert Hunt, who lived there only a year or two, and died lamented by the colonists. Hakluyt's last preferment was the rectory of Gedney in Lincolnshire, obtained by him in 1612. Out of his emoluments he amassed a considerable fortune, which was squandered by a son. Hakluyt died in 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. No inscription marks his grave, nor is it known in what part of the church he was interred[1].

[1] For further information concerning Hakluyt, Hawkins, Frobisher and Drake, the reader is referred to Professor J. K. Laughton's articles in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' to which the editor acknowledges his obligations in preparing the present edition. Those who wish to study the subject comprehensively must have recourse to Mr. Froude's History of England, to his eloquent essay on 'England's Forgotten Worthies,' by which this little work was originally suggested, and to his four lectures entitled 'English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century,' delivered before the University of Oxford.

VOYAGES

OF

THE ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN TO AMERICA.

HAWKINS (b. 1532, d. 1595).

The history of the English in America practically begins with the three slave-trading voyages of John Hawkins of Plymouth, made in the years 1562-3, 1564-5, and 1567-8. Nothing that Englishmen had done in connexion with America, previously to these voyages, had any result worth recording. English seamen had known the New World nearly seventy years, for John Cabot had reached it shortly after its discovery by Columbus, and English adventurers had from time to time crossed the Atlantic to explore the American coasts. But as the excitement of novelty subsided, voyages from England to America had become fewer and fewer. It is easy to account for this. There was no opening for conquest or plunder, for the Tudors were at peace with the Spanish sovereigns, and the Papal title of Spain and Portugal to the whole of the new continent was not disputed by Catholic England. By the laws of Spain the trade with its transatlantic possessions was confined to Spanish vessels. Meanwhile English commerce found profitable openings elsewhere. English seamen frequented the Mediterranean in increasing numbers: and from the Mediterranean they

naturally extended their voyages to the western coast of Africa. The African trade, the school of Columbus, thus became the school of Hawkins, of Frobisher, and of Drake.

From the western coast of Africa the course is easy to Brazil. William Hawkins, of Plymouth, father of the more famous seaman whose voyages follow, had already three times made the Brazilian voyage, by crossing the Atlantic from Africa. The natives of the West Indian islands, reduced to slavery by the Spaniards, were now being rapidly exterminated, and negroes were being imported in their place. As the plantations in America grew and multiplied, the demand for negroes increased. The Spaniards had no African settlements south of Barbary; and the Portuguese had hitherto furnished negro slaves both for themselves and for the Spaniards. But the Brazilian plantations grew so fast, about the middle of the century, that they absorbed the entire supply, and the Spanish colonists knew not where to look for negroes. This dearth of slaves in the Spanish Indies became known to the English and French captains who frequented the African coast; and John Hawkins, who had been engaged from boyhood in the trade with Spain and the Canaries, resolved in 1562 to take a cargo of negro slaves to Hispaniola. The little squadron with which he executed this project was the first English squadron which navigated the West Indian seas. In 1559 Hawkins had married the daughter of Gunson, Treasurer of the Royal Navy. It was probably owing to this connexion that he was enabled to raise money for his ventures, and to make his second voyage in one of the Queen's ships, the *Jesus of Lubeck.*

England was on good terms with Spain, and the law excluding foreign vessels from trading with the Spanish colonists, of which no mention was made in the commercial treaty between Spain and England, was not strictly enforced. The trade was profitable, and Hawkins found no difficulty in disposing of his cargo. A meagre note (p. 6) from the pen of Hakluyt contains all that is known of the first American voyage of Hawkins. He carried his wares no farther than three ports on the northern side of Hispaniola. These ports, far away from San Domingo, the capital, were

already well known to the French smugglers. Having secured a cargo which filled not only his own ships but two others hired on the spot, he made the best of his way back. In his second voyage, as will be seen, he entered the Caribbean Sea, still keeping, however, at a safe distance from San Domingo, and sold his slaves on the mainland.

The second expedition was on a larger scale, and the Earl of Pembroke, and Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, were among the adventurers who contributed the funds. Hawkins now had opposition to overcome. After his first expedition, relying on the freedom of trade which existed between England and Spain, he had despatched his hired vessels, laden with American produce, to Seville, where the cargoes were confiscated, and an order went forth strictly prohibiting the Spanish colonists in the New World from trading with him. But Hawkins persisted. The statement that he 'forced the defenceless Spanish colonists to take his negroes at prices fixed by him' (J. G. Kohl, *History of the Discovery of Maine*, p. 443) is incorrect. Hawkins, indeed, broke down, by threats or force, the resistance of the Spanish officials; but the colonists appear to have been ready enough to buy when this had been done. Having disposed of all his slaves, and loaded his vessels with hides and other goods bought with the produce, Hawkins returned. In the Caribbean sea the current carried him far to leeward, compelling him ultimately to double the western point of Cuba, and sail homewards past the shores of Florida. Public opinion had long indicated these shores as fitting places for colonisation by Englishmen: a second French colony had been founded there by Laudonnière in the previous year (1564), the colonists left by Ribault in 1562 having returned to Europe in 1563. Hawkins had a Frenchman on board, who had been in Florida with Ribault. The Frenchman guided him to Laudonnière's settlement, whence he made his way along the coast of North America to Newfoundland, and so, with the prevailing westerly winds, to Europe. This was the pioneer voyage made by Englishmen along the coasts of the United States. It corresponded to that of Verrazzano, forty years earlier, which had opened the way

to French colonisation in Florida and Canada. The interesting narrative which is here given is from the pen of John Sparke, one of the soldiers engaged in the expedition. It contains the first information concerning North America and its natives published in England by an English eye-witness, and ranks among the most interesting pieces in Hakluyt's collection. Sparke's observation that the land is larger than any one Christian monarch could conveniently colonise (p. 61) hints not obscurely at the occupation of North America by the English.

The second voyage of Hawkins won him wealth and reputation; and in 1565 he obtained his well-known grant of arms, with the crest of 'a demi-Moor, bound and captive.' A breach between England and Spain was manifestly impending, and his successes opened a tempting prospect to English adventurers. The inferiority of Spain at sea was more than suspected; and the fears of the Spaniards were by this time thoroughly aroused. The Spanish Ambassador met Hawkins at Court, and invited him to dinner. Hawkins accepted, and coolly informed the representative of Philip that he proposed to repeat his voyage in the next year (1566). Accidents delayed the equipment of the fleet until October. Meanwhile Philip made effectual remonstrances at the English Court; and, just as Hawkins was on the point of starting, letters arrived at Plymouth from Cecil, forbidding him, in the Queen's name, to traffic in breach of the laws of Spain, and requiring from him a bond in £500 to this effect before his vessels departed. But the plans of Hawkins were only temporarily frustrated. In another year's time the aspect of things had changed; Elizabeth had become less disposed to have regard to Spanish interests, and Hawkins was permitted to execute his project without hindrance. Having collected on the African coast about 500 negroes, he sailed for the West Indies a third time. He disposed of most of his slaves in the South American ports, and carried the remainder to San Juan de Ulua, the port of Mexico itself, where he was surprised by the unexpected arrival of a powerful Spanish fleet and made his escape with the loss of all his vessels except the *Minion* and the *Judith*. Young

Francis Drake was in command of the *Judith*, a small vessel of fifty tons. It is curious that in the narrative of Hawkins the name of Drake is not mentioned. When the *Minion* and the *Judith* escaped from the jaws of destruction in the port of San Juan, Drake sailed straight for England. Evidently Hawkins regarded this as an act of desertion; the *Judith*, he writes (p. 78), forsook us in our great misery. Yet it is difficult to see what better course Drake could have taken. He could render Hawkins no help, and might have been a cause of embarrassment. Unable to find food for the crowded passengers on board the *Minion*, Hawkins put half of them ashore. Three of the wretched survivors of this party, David Ingram, Job Hortop and Miles Philips, lived to write accounts of the adventures which afterwards befell them. Ingram wandered through eastern North America, following the Indian trails, and was brought to Europe by a French ship from the St. John's River in New Brunswick. Hortop and Philips were captured and taken to Mexico; the former was sent to Spain, and reached England in 1590, having served twelve years as a galley-slave. Philips escaped from his captivity in Mexico and reached England in 1582. The account of Philips is interesting in connexion with the brief narrative from the pen of Hawkins, which is here printed, for internal evidence shows that Hawkins, in writing his own version of the story, had the narrative of Philips before him. The misfortunes of this last voyage discouraged him; and the duties of the Treasurership of the Navy, to which office, pursuant to a previous grant, he succeeded in 1573, prevented him from again engaging in private enterprise. His last expedition, made in concert with Drake, with the intention of plundering Panama, took place in 1595. Hawkins died off Puerto Rico, before the fleet reached the American continent, and Drake before it anchored at Porto Bello. Both found a sailor's grave in the waters which their daring threw open to English adventure, and ultimately converted into a common field of enterprise for the maritime nations of Europe.

HAWKINS—FIRST VOYAGE.

[Note by Hakluyt.]

The First Voyage *of the Right Worshipful and Valiant Knight* Sir JOHN HAWKINS, *sometimes Treasurer of Her Majesty's Navy Royal, made to the* West Indies, 1562.

Master John Hawkins having made divers voyages to the isles of the *Canaries*, and there by his good and upright dealing being grown in love and favour with the people, informed himself amongst them, by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West *India*, whereof he had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the advertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured that *Negros* were very good merchandise in *Hispaniola*, and that store of *Negros* might easily be had upon the coast of *Guinea*, resolved with himself to make trial thereof, and communicated that device with his worshipful friends of *London*: namely, with *Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge*[1], *Master Gunson* his father-in-law[2], *Sir William Winter, Master Bromfield*, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberal contributors and adventurers in the action. For which purpose

[1] Lodge was Lord Mayor in 1563, Ducket Lord Mayor in 1573.

[2] Benjamin Gunson, Treasurer of the Navy 1553–1573, who had succeeded his father William Gunson in the office. Hawkins succeeded his father-in-law in the office.

there were three good ships immediately provided: the one called the *Solomon*, of the burden of 120 ton, wherein *Master Hawkins* himself went as General: the second the *Swallow*, of 100 tons, wherein went for captain *Master Thomas Hampton*: and the third the *Jonas*, a bark of 40 tons, wherein the master supplied the captain's room: in which small fleet *Master Hawkins* took with him not above 100 men, for fear of sickness and other inconveniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subject.

With this company he put off and departed from the coast of *England* in the month of October, 1562, and in his course touched first at *Teneriffe*, where he received friendly entertainment. From thence he passed to *Sierra Leona*[1], upon the coast of *Guinea*, which place by the people of the country is called *Tagarin*, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sword and partly by other means, to the number of 300 *Negros* at the least, besides other merchandises which that country yieldeth. With this prey he sailed over the ocean sea unto the island of *Hispaniola*, and arrived first at the port of *Isabella*: and there he had reasonable utterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his *Negros*, trusting the Spaniards no further, than that by his own strength he was able still to master them. From the port of *Isabella* he went to *Puerto de Plata*, where he made like sales, standing always upon his guard: from thence also he sailed to *Monte Christi*, another port on the north side of *Hispaniola*, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffic, and made vent of the whole number of his *Negros*: for which he received in those three places, by way of exchange,

[1] So named by its discoverer, Pedro de Cintra, in 1462, from the roaring of thunder among the mountains, heard at sea.

such a quantity of merchandise that he did not only lade his own three ships with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantity of pearls, but he freighted also two other hulks with hides and other like commodities, which he sent into *Spain*[1]. And thus, leaving the island, he returned and disemboqued[2], passing out by the islands of the *Caicos*, without further entering into the Bay of *Mexico*, in this his first voyage to the West *India*. And so, with prosperous success and much gain to himself and the aforesaid adventurers, he came home, and arrived in the month of September, 1563.

[1] These cargoes were confiscated on their arrival.
[2] Passed into the Atlantic Ocean.

HAWKINS—SECOND VOYAGE.

[NARRATIVE BY JOHN SPARKE.]

The VOYAGE *made by* MASTER JOHN HAWKINS, *Esquire, and afterward Knight, Captain of the* JESUS *of Lubeck*[1], *one of Her Majesty's ships, and General of the* SOLOMON, *and other two barks going in his company, to the coast of* GUINEA *and the* INDIES OF NOVA HISPANIA, *begun in* ANNO DOMINI 1564.

MASTER JOHN HAWKINS, with the *Jesus* of *Lubeck*, a ship of 700, and the *Solomon*, a ship of 140, the *Tiger*, a bark of 50, and the *Swallow*, of 30 tons, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred threescore and ten, as also with ordnance and victual requisite for such a voyage, departed out of *Plymouth* the 18. day of October, in the year of our Lord 1564, with a prosperous wind. At which departing, in cutting the foresail, a marvellous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the ship, who by the pulley of the sheet was slain out of hand, being a sorrowful beginning to them all. And after their setting out ten leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the *Minion*, a ship of the Queen's Majesty, whereof was captain *David Carlet*, and also her consort, the *John Baptist* of *London*, being bound to *Guinea* also, who hailed one the other, after the custom of the sea, with certain pieces of ordnance for joy of their meeting; which done, the *Minion* departed from him to seek her other consort,

[1] Bought from Lubeck by Henry VIII. for the Royal Navy.

the *Merlin* of *London*, which was astern out of sight, leaving in *Master Hawkins'* company the *John Baptist*, her other consort.

Thus sailing forwards on their way with a prosperous wind until the 21. of the same month, at that time a great storm arose, the wind being at north-east, about nine o'clock in the night, and continued so 23 hours together; in which storm *Master Hawkins* lost the company of the *John Baptist* aforesaid, and of his pinnace called the *Swallow*, his other three ships being sore beaten with a storm. The 23. day, the *Swallow*, to his no small rejoicing, came to him again in the night, ten leagues to the northward of Cape *Finisterre*, he having put roomer[1], not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary wind at south-west. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in *Galicia*, called *Ferrol*, where he remained five days, and appointed all the masters of his ships an Order for the keeping of good company, in this manner.

THE small ships to be always ahead and aweather of the *Jesus*, and to speak twice a-day with the *Jesus* at least. If in the day the ensign be over the poop of the *Jesus*, or in the night two lights, then shall all the ships speak with her. If there be three lights aboard the *Jesus*, then doth she cast about. If the weather be extreme, that the small ships cannot keep company with the *Jesus*, then all to keep company with the *Solomon*, and forthwith to repair to the island of *Teneriffe*, to the northward of the road of *Sirroes*. If any happen to any misfortune, then to show two lights, and to shoot off a piece of ordnance. If any lose company and come in sight again, to make three yaws[2], and strike the mizen three times. SERVE GOD DAILY, LOVE ONE ANOTHER, PRESERVE YOUR VICTUALS, BEWARE OF FIRE, AND KEEP GOOD COMPANY.

[1] Gone 'large,' or 'from the wind.' [2] Angles in the course.

The 26. day the *Minion* came in also where he was, for the rejoicing whereof he gave them certain pieces of ordnance, after the courtesy of the sea, for their welcome. But the *Minion's* men had no mirth, because of their consort the *Merlin*, whom, at their departure from *Master Hawkins* upon the coast of *England*, they went to seek, and, having met with her, kept company two days together; and at last, by misfortune of fire, through the negligence of one of their gunners, the powder in the gunner's room was set on fire; which, with the first blast, struck out her poop, and therewithal lost three men, besides many sore burned, which escaped by the brigandine being at her stern; and immediately, to the great loss of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, she sunk before their eyes.

The 30. day of the month *Master Hawkins*, with his consorts, and company of the *Minion*, having now both the brigandines at her stern, weighed anchor, and set sail on their voyage, having a prosperous wind thereunto.

The fourth of November they had sight of the island of *Madeira*, and the sixth day of *Teneriffe*, which they thought to have been the *Canary*, in that they supposed themselves to have been to the eastward of *Teneriffe*, and were not. But the *Minion*, being three or four leagues ahead of us, kept on her course to *Teneriffe*, having better sight thereof than the other had; and by that means they parted company. For *Master Hawkins* and his company went more to the west, upon which course having sailed a while, he espied another island, which he thought to be *Teneriffe*; and not being able, by means of the fog upon the hills, to discern the same, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer until the morning, being the seventh of November. Which as yet he could not discern, but sailed along the coast the space of two hours to perceive some certain mark

of *Teneriffe*, and found no likelihood thereof at all, accounting that to be, as it was indeed, the Isle of *Palms*[1]: and so sailing forwards, espied another island called *Gomera*, and also *Teneriffe*. With the which he made, and sailing all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of *Adecia*[2], where he found his pinnace; which had departed from him the sixth of the month, being in the weather of him, and, espying the peak of *Teneriffe* all a-high, bare thither.

At his arrival, somewhat before he came to anchor, he hoised out his ship's pinnace, rowing ashore, intending to have sent one with a letter to *Peter de Ponte*, one of the governors of the island, who dwelt a league from the shore. But, as he pretended to have landed, suddenly there appeared, upon the two points of the road, men levelling of bases[3] and arquebuses to them, with divers others, to the number of fourscore, with halberds, pikes, swords, and targets. Which happened so contrary to his expectation that it did greatly amaze him; and the more because he was now in their danger, not knowing well how to avoid it without some mischief. Wherefore he determined to call to them for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himself to be an especial friend to *Peter de Ponte*, and that he had sundry things for him which he greatly desired. And in the meantime, while he was thus talking with them, whereby he made them to hold their hands, he willed the mariners to row away, so that at last he gat out of their danger. And then asking for *Peter de Ponte*, one of his sons, being *Señor Nicolas de Ponte*, came forth; whom he perceiving, desired to put his men aside, and he himself would leap ashore and commune with him, which they did. So that after communication had between them of sundry things,

[1] Palma. [2] Adexe. [3] Small portable cannon.

and of the fear they both had, *Master Hawkins* desired to have certain necessaries provided for him. In the mean space, while these things were providing, he trimmed the mainmast of the *Jesus*, which in the storm aforesaid was sprung. Here he sojourned seven days, refreshing himself and his men. In which time *Peter de Ponte*, dwelling at *Santa Cruz*, a city 20 leagues off, came to him, and gave him as gentle entertainment as if he had been his own brother.

To speak somewhat of these islands, being called in old time *Insulae Fortunatae*, by the means of the flourishing thereof, the fruitfulness of them doth surely exceed far all other that I have heard of. For they make wine better than any in *Spain*, they have grapes of such bigness that they may be compared to damsons, and in taste inferior to none. For sugar, suckets[1], raisins of the sun, and many other fruits, abundance. For rosin and raw silk there is great store. They want neither corn, pullets, cattle, nor yet wild fowl. They have many camels also, which, being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and, being old, they are used for carriage of necessaries; whose property is, as he is taught, to kneel at the taking of his load, and unlading again. His nature is * * * contrary to other beasts; of understanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little belly, long misshapen legs, and feet very broad of flesh, without a hoof, all whole, saving the great toe; a back bearing up like a molehill, a large and thin neck, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath given him in his breast, to lean upon. This beast liveth hardly, and is contented with straw and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carry 500 weight. In one of these islands, called *Ferro*, there is, by the reports of the inhabitants, a certain

[1] Fruits preserved in sugar.

tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattle are satisfied with water, for other water have they none in all the island[1]. And it raineth in such abundance that it were incredible unto a man to believe such a virtue to be in a tree; but it is known to be a divine matter and a thing ordained by God, at whose power therein we ought not to marvel, seeing He did by His providence, as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israel were going into the land of promise, feed them with *manna* from heaven for the space of forty years. Of the trees aforesaid we saw in *Guinea* many, being of great height, dropping continually; but not so abundantly as the other, because the leaves are narrower, and are like the leaves of a pear-tree. About these islands are certain flitting islands, which have been oftentimes seen, and when men approached near them, they vanished; as the like hath been of these islands now known, by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other. And therefore it should seem, he is not yet born to whom God hath appointed the finding of them[2]. In this island of *Teneriffe* there is a hill called *The Peak*, because it is peaked, which is in height, by their reports, twenty leagues, having, both winter and summer, abundance of snow in the top of it. This *Peak* may be seen in a clear day 50 leagues off; but it showeth as though it were a black cloud a great height in the element. I have heard of none to be compared

[1] The Arbol Santo of Ferro was an enormous tree of the laurel kind, standing alone on a steep rock. It condensed daily a large quantity of water from the morning mist, which was collected in two cisterns, one for human use, the other for cattle. It was blown down by a hurricane in 1612. Only three springs exist on the island.

[2] The legendary island of St. Brandan, formerly placed further northward, but now believed to lie west of the Canaries. It had by this time developed into an imaginary group called the 'Isles of St. Brandan.'

with this in height; but in the *Indias* I have seen many, and in my judgment not inferior to the *Peak*, and so the Spaniards write.

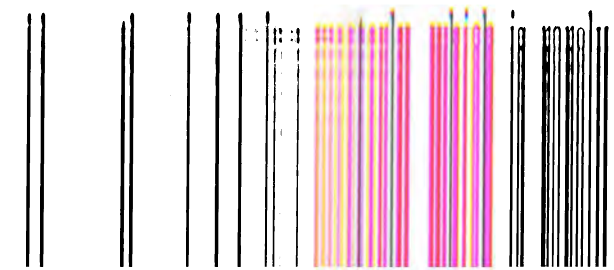
The 15. of November, at night, we departed from *Teneriffe*, and the 20. of the same we had sight of ten carvels that were fishing at sea. With whom we would have spoken, but they, fearing us, fled into a place of *Barbary*, called Cape *de las Barbas*.

The twentieth, the ship's pinnace, with two men in her, sailing by the ship, was overthrown by the oversight of them that went in her, the wind being so great that, before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driven half a league to leeward of the pinnace, and had lost sight of her; so that there was small hope of recovery, had not God's help and the captain's diligence been, who, having well marked which way the pinnace was by the sun, appointed 24 of the lustiest rowers in the great boat to row to the windwards, and so recovered, contrary to all men's expectations, both the pinnace and the men sitting upon the keel of her.

The 25. he came to Cape *Blanco*, which is upon the coast of *Africa*, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fish there in the month of November especially, and is a very good place of fishing for *pargoes*[1], *mullet*, and dog-fish. In this place the Portugals have no hold for their defence, but have rescue of the *Barbarians*, whom they entertain as their soldiers, for the time of their being there; and for their fishing upon that coast of *Africa*, do pay a certain tribute to the king of the Moors. The people of that part of *Africa* are tawny, having long hair, without any apparel, saving † about their loins. Their weapons in wars are bows and arrows.

[1] Rocket-fish.

The 26. we departed from St. *Avis* Bay, within Cape *Blanco*, where we refreshed ourselves with fish and other necessaries; and the 29. we came to Cape *Verde*, which lieth in 14 degrees and a half. These people are all black, and are called *Negroes*; without any apparel, saving† about their loins; of stature goodly men, and well liking by reason of their food, which passeth all other Guineans for kine, goats, pullen[1], rice, fruits, and fish. Here we took fishes with heads like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a jolly thickness, but not past a foot long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting off his head. To speak somewhat of the sundry sorts of these Guineans: the people of Cape *Verde* are called *Leophares*, and counted the goodliest men of all other, saving the *Congoes*, which do inhabit on this side the Cape *de Buena Esperança*. These *Leophares* have wars against the *Jeloffs*, which are borderers by them[2]. Their weapons are bows and arrows, targets, and short daggers; darts also, but varying from other negroes; for whereas the other use a long dart to fight with in their hands, they carry five or six small ones apiece, which they cast with. These men also are more civil than any other, because of their daily traffic with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and loving. For while we were there we took in a Frenchman, who was one of the nineteen that, going to *Brazil*, in a bark of *Dieppe*, of 60 tons, and being a-seaboard of Cape *Verde* 200 leagues, the planks of their bark with a sea brake out upon them so suddenly, that much ado they had to save themselves in their boats. But, by God's



remained six weeks, and had meat and drink of the same people. The said Frenchman having forsaken his fellows, which were three leagues off from the shore, and, wandering with the negroes to and fro, fortuned to come to the water's side; and, communing with certain of his countrymen which were in our ship, by their persuasions came away with us. But his entertainment amongst them was such that he desired it not; but, through the importunate request of his countrymen, consented at the last. Here we stayed but one night and part of the day; for the seventh of December we came away, in that pretending to have taken negroes there perforce, the *Minion's* men gave them there to understand of our coming, and our pretence, wherefore they did avoid the snares we had laid for them.

The 8. of December we anchored by a small island called *Alcatrarsa*[1], wherein at our going ashore we found nothing but sea-birds, as we call them gannets, but by the Portugals called *alcatrarses*, who for that cause gave the said island the same name. Herein half of our boats were laden with young and old fowl, who, not being used to the sight of men, flew so about us that we struck them down with poles. In this place the two ships riding, the two barks, with their boats, went into an island of the *Sapies* called *La Formio*, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and, espying certain, made to them; but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow. So, going on their way forward, till they came to a river which they could not pass over, they espied on the other side two men, who with their bows and arrows shot terribly at them.

[1] Bird Island. The Alcatraz (Albatross), or Man-of-war Bird, is a species of cormorant.

Whereupon we discharged certain arquebuses to them again, but the ignorant people weighed it not, because they knew not the danger thereof; but used a marvellous crying in their fight, with leaping and turning their tails that it was most strange to see, and gave us great pleasure to behold them. At the last, one being hurt with an arquebus upon the thigh, looked upon his wound and wist not how it came, because he could not see the pellet. Here Master *Hawkins* perceiving no good to be done amongst them, because we could not find their towns, and also not knowing how to go into *Rio Grande*[1], for want of a pilot, which was the very occasion of our coming thither, and finding so many shoals, feared with our great ships to go in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the *Idols*[2].

The 10. of December we had a north-east wind, with rain and storm; which weather continuing two days together, was the occasion that the *Solomon* and *Tiger* lost our company. For whereas the *Jesus* and pinnace anchored at one of the islands called *Sambula*, the twelfth day, the *Solomon* and *Tiger* came not thither till the fourteenth. In this island we stayed certain days, going every day on shore to take the inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their towns; who before were *Sapies*, and were conquered by the *Samboses*, inhabitants beyond *Sierra Leona*. These *Samboses* had inhabited there three years before our coming thither; and in so short space have so planted the ground, that they had great plenty of mill[3], rice, roots, pompions[4], pullen, goats, of small fry dried; every house full of the country fruit planted by God's providence, as *palmito*[5] trees,

[1] Now the Jeba River.
[2] The Ilhas dos Idolos (Isles de Los).
[3] Millet. [4] Pumpkins. [5] Cabbage-Palms.

fruits like dates, and sundry other, in no place in all that country so abundantly, whereby they lived more deliciously than other. These inhabitants have divers of the *Sapies*, which they took in the wars, as their slaves, whom only they kept to till the ground, in that they neither have the knowledge thereof, nor yet will work themselves; of whom we took many in that place, but of the *Samboses* none at all, for they fled into the main. All the *Samboses* have white teeth as we have, far unlike to the *Sapies* which do inhabit about *Rio Grande*; for their teeth are all filed, which they do for a bravery, to set out themselves, and do jag their flesh, both legs, arms, and bodies, as workmanlike as a jerkin-maker with us pinketh a jerkin. These *Sapies* be more civil than the *Samboses*; for whereas the *Samboses* live most by the spoil of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also, the *Sapies* do not eat man's flesh, unless in the war they be driven by necessity thereunto; which they have not used, but by the example of the *Samboses*, but live only with fruits and cattle, whereof they have great store. This plenty is the occasion that the *Sapies* desire not war, except they be thereunto provoked by the invasions of the *Samboses*, whereas the *Samboses* for want of food are enforced thereunto, and therefore are not wont only to take them that they kill, but also keep those that they take until such time as they want meat, and then they kill them. There is also another occasion that provoketh the *Samboses* to war against the *Sapies*, which is for covetousness of their riches. For whereas the *Sapies* have an order to bury their dead, in certain places appointed for that purpose, with their gold about them, the *Samboses* dig up the ground to have the same treasure. For the *Samboses* have not the like store of gold that the *Sapies* have. In this island of *Sambula*

we found about 50 boats called *almadies*[1], or *canoas*, which are made of one piece of wood, digged out like a trough, but of a good proportion, being about eight yards long and one in breadth, having a beak-head, and a stern very proportionably made, and on the outside artificially carved, and painted red and blue. They are able to carry twenty or thirty men; but they are about the coast able to carry threescore and upward. In these *canoas* they row standing upright, with an oar somewhat longer than a man, the end whereof is made about the breadth and length of a man's hand, of the largest sort. They row very swift, and in some of them four rowers and one to steer make as much way as a pair of oars in the *Thames* of *London*.

Their towns are prettily divided with a main street at the entering in, that goeth thorough their town, and another overthwart street, which maketh their towns' cross-ways. Their houses are built in a rank very orderly in the face of the street, and they are made round, like a dove-cot, with stakes set full of *palmito* leaves, instead of a wall. They are not much more than a fathom large, and two of height, and thatched with *palmito* leaves very close (other some with reed); and over the roof thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reeds, prettily contrived like a louver[2]. In the inner part they make a loft of sticks, whereupon they lay all their provision of victuals. A place they reserve at their entrance for the kitchen; and the place they lie in is divided with certain mats artificially made with the rind of *palmito* trees. Their bedsteads are of small staves laid along, and raised a foot from the ground, upon which is laid a mat,

[1] The Moorish name (*el-mahd*, Arab. = cradle).

[2] A wooden turret surmounting the roof of a house, having openings for ventilation.

and another upon them when they list; for other covering they have none. In the middle of the town there is a house larger and higher than the other, but in form alike, adjoining unto the which there is a place made of four good stanchions of wood, and a round roof over it, the ground also raised round with clay a foot high, upon the which floor were strawed many fine mats. This is the Consultation-house, the like whereof is in all towns, as the Portugals affirm. In which place, when they sit in council, the king or captain sitteth in the midst, and the elders upon the floor by him, for they give reverence to their elders; and the common sort sit round about them. There they sit to examine matters of theft; which if a man be taken with, to steal but a Portugal cloth from another, he is sold to the Portugals for a slave. They consult, also, and take order what time they shall go to wars; and, as it is certainly reported by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruits in the season of the year, and also of *palmito* wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourd set for the receiving thereof, which falleth in by drops, and yieldeth fresh wine again within a month; and this divided part and portion-like to every man by the judgment of the captain and elders, every man holdeth himself contented. And this surely I judge to be a very good order; for otherwise, whereas scarcity of *palmito* is, every man would have the same, which might breed great strife. But of such things as every man doth plant for himself, the sower thereof reapeth it to his own use, so that nothing is common but that which is unset by man's hands. In their houses there is more common passage of lizards like evats[1], and others greater, of black and blue colour, of near a foot long, besides their tails, than there is

[1] Efts or newts.

with us of mice in great houses. The *Sapies* and *Samboses* also use in their wars bows, and arrows made of reeds, with heads of iron, poisoned with the juice of a cucumber, whereof I had many in my hands. In their battles they have target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts, with heads, at both ends, of iron; the one in form of a two-edged sword, a foot and an half long, and at the other end, the iron long of the same length made to counterpeise it, that in casting it might fly level, rather than for any other purpose as I can judge. And when they espy the enemy, the captain, to cheer his men, crieth *Hungry!* and they answer *Heygre!* And with that every man placeth himself in order. For about every target-man three bowmen will cover themselves, and shoot as they see advantage. And when they give the onset, they make such terrible cries that they may be heard two miles off. For their belief, I can hear of none that they have, but in such as they themselves imagine to see in their dreams, and so worship the pictures, whereof we saw some like unto devils. In this island aforesaid we sojourned until the 21. of December, where, having taken certain negroes, and as much of their fruits, rice, and mill as we could well carry away (whereof there was such store that we might have laden one of our barks therewith), we departed. And at our departure, divers our men being desirous to go on shore to fetch pompions, which, having proved, they found to be very good, certain of the *Tiger's* men went also. Amongst the which there was a carpenter, a young man, who, with his fellows, having fetched many and carried them down to their boats, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellow to tarry while he might go up to fetch a few which he had laid by for himself. Who, being more licorous than circumspect, went up without weapon, and, as he went up alone,

possibly being marked of the negroes that were upon the trees, espying him what he did, perceiving him to be alone, and without weapon, [they] dogged him ; and finding him occupied in binding his pompions together, came behind him, overthrowing him, and straight cut his throat, as he afterwards was found by his fellows, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

The 22. the captain went into the river called *Callowsa*, with the two barks, and the *John's* pinnace, and the *Solomon's* boat, leaving at anchor in the river's mouth the two ships, the river being 20 leagues in, where the Portugals rode. He came thither the 25. and dispatched his business, and so returned with two carvels loaden with negroes.

The 27. the captain was advertised by the Portugals of a town of the negroes called *Bymba*, being in the way as they returned, where was not only great quantity of gold, but also that there were not above forty men and a hundred women and children in the town, so that if he would give the adventure upon the same, he might get a hundred slaves. With the which tidings he being glad, because the Portugals should not think him to be of so base a courage, but that he durst give them that, and greater attempts ; and being thereunto also the more provoked with the prosperous success he had in other islands adjacent, where he had put them all to flight and taken in one boat twenty together, determined to stay before the town three or four hours, to see what he could do ; and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of 40 men well appointed, having to their guides certain Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death. We landing boat after boat, and divers of our men scattering themselves,

contrary to the captain's will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to find gold in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meantime the negroes came upon them, and hurt many, being thus scattered; whereas, if five or six had been together they had been able, as their companions did, to give the overthrow to forty of them. And, being driven down to take their boats, were followed so hardly by a rout of negroes, who by that took courage to pursue them to their boats, that not only some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter, by means that the negroes did flee at the first, and our company remained in the town, were suddenly so set upon that some with great hurt recovered their boats; othersome, not able to recover the same, took the water, and perished by means of the ooze. While this was doing, the captain, who, with a dozen men, went through the town, returned, finding 200 negroes at the water's side, shooting at them in the boats, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water; at whose coming they ran all away. So he entered his boats, and, before he could put off from the shore, they returned again, and shot very fiercely and hurt divers of them. Thus we returned back somewhat discomforted, although the captain in a singular wise manner carried himself with countenance very cheerful outwardly, as though he did little weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this end, that the Portugals, being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hindrance for the death of our men: having gotten by our going ten negroes and lost seven of our best men, whereof Master *Field,* captain of the *Solomon,* was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the same

hour while this was doing there happened at the same instant a marvellous miracle to them in the ships, who rode ten leagues to seaward, by many sharks, or *tiburons*, who came about the ships; among which one was taken by the *Jesus* and four by the *Solomon*, and one, very sore hurt, escaped. And so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the *Jesus'* men and four of the *Solomon's* were killed, and the fifth, having twenty wounds, was rescued, and escaped with much ado.

The 28. they came to their ships, the *Jesus* and the *Solomon*, and the 30. departed from thence to *Taggarin*.

The first of January the two barks and both the boats forsook the ships and went into a river called the *Casserroes*, and the sixth, having despatched their business, the two barks returned and came to *Taggarin*, where the two ships were at anchor. Not two days after the coming of the two ships thither, they put their water cask ashore, and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to have filled it with fresh water afterward; and while their men were some on shore and some in their boats, the negroes set upon them in the boats and hurt divers of them, and came to the casks and cut off the hoops of twelve butts, which lost us four or five days' time, besides great want we had of the same. Sojourning at *Taggarin*, the *Swallow* went up the river, about her traffic, where they saw great towns of the negroes, and *canoas* that had threescore men in apiece. There they understood by the Portugals of a great battle between them of *Sierra Leona* side and them of *Taggarin*. They of *Sierra Leona* had prepared three hundred *canoas* to invade the other; the time was appointed not past six days after our departure from thence. Which we would have seen, to the intent we might have taken some of them, had it not been for

the death and sickness of our men, which came by the contagiousness of the place, which made us to make haste away.

The 18. of January at night, we departed from *Taggarin*, being bound for the West *Indies*, before which departure certain of the *Solomon's* men went on shore to fill water in the night. And as they came on shore with their boat, being ready to leap on land, one of them espied a negro in a white coat, standing upon a rock, being ready to have received them when they came on shore, having in sight of his fellows also eight or nine, some in one place leaping out and some in another, but they hid themselves straight again. Whereupon our men, doubting they had been a great company, and sought to have taken them at more advantage, as God would, departed to their ships, not thinking there had been such a mischief pretended toward them as then was indeed. Which the next day we understood of a Portugal that came down to us, who had trafficked with the negroes, by whom he understood that the king of *Sierra Leona* had made all the power he could to take some of us, partly from the desire he had to see what kind of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the *Idols*, whereof he had news before our coming, and, as I judge also, upon other occasions provoked by the *Tangomangos*. But sure we were that the army was come down, by means that in the evening we saw such a monstrous fire, made by the watering place, that before was not seen; which fire is the only mark for the *Tangomangos* to know where their army is always. If these men had come down in the evening, they had done us great displeasure, for that we were on shore filling water; but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not have it so, and by Him we escaped without danger. His name be praised for it!

The 29. of this same month we departed with all our ships from *Sierra Leona* towards the West Indies, and for the space of 18 days we were becalmed, having now and then contrary winds and some tornados amongst the same calm; which happened to us very ill, being but reasonably watered for so great a company of negroes and ourselves, which pinched us all, and that which was worst, put us in such fear that many never thought to have reached to the Indies without great death of negroes and of themselves. But the Almighty God, who never suffereth His elect to perish, sent us, the sixteenth of February, the ordinary Breeze[1], which is the north-east wind, which never left us till we came to an island of the *Cannibals*[2] called *Dominica*, where we arrived the ninth of March, upon a Saturday. And because it was the most desolate place in all the island we could see no *Cannibals*, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and, as it should seem, forsook the place for want of fresh water; for we could find none there but rain-water and such as fell from the hills and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof we filled for our negroes. The *Cannibals* of that island, and also others adjacent, are the most desperate warriors that are in the *Indies*, by the Spaniards' report, who are never able to conquer them; and they are molested by them not a little when they are driven to water there in any of those islands. Of very late, not two months past, in the said island, a carvel, being driven to water, was in the night set upon by the inhabitants, who cut their cable in the halser, whereby they were driven ashore, and so taken by them and eaten. The *Green Dragon* of *Newhaven*, whereof was captain one *Bontemps*, in March also, came to one of those islands, called *Grenada*;

[1] Spanish *Brisa*, the usual name for the Trade-Wind.
[2] Caribs. See page 54, l. 30.

and, being driven to water, could not do the same for the *Cannibals*, who fought with him very desperately two days. For our part also, if we had not lighted upon the desertest place in all that island, we could not have missed, but should have been greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards' reports, who make them devils in respect of [other] men.

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the 15. had sight of nine islands called the *Testigos*; and on the 16. of an island called *Margarita*, where we were entertained by the *alcalde*[1], and had both beeves and sheep given us for the refreshing of our men. But the governor of the island would neither come to speak with our captain, neither yet give him any licence to traffic. And, to displease us the more, whereas we had hired a pilot to have gone with us, they would not only not suffer him to go with us, but also sent word by a carvel out of hand to *Santo Domingo* to the Viceroy, who doth represent the king's person, of our arrival in those parts; which had like to have turned us to great displeasure, by the means that the same Viceroy did send word to *Cape de la Vela*, and to other places along the coast, commanding them that, by the virtue of his authority and by the obedience that they owe to their prince, no man should traffic with us, but should resist us with all the force they could. In this island, notwithstanding that we were not within four leagues of the town, yet were they so afraid, that not only the governor himself, but also all the inhabitants, forsook their town, assembling all the Indians to them, and fled into the mountains; as we were partly certified, and also saw the experience ourselves, by some of the Indians coming to see us, who, by three Spaniards a-horseback passing hard by us, went unto the Indians, having every one of them

[1] Chief magistrate.

their bows and arrows, procuring them away, who before were conversant with us.

Here, perceiving no traffic to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driven to depart the twentieth day, and the two and twentieth we came to a place in the main called *Cumana*, whither the captain going in his pinnace, spake with certain Spaniards, of whom he demanded traffic. But they made him answer, *they were but soldiers newly come thither, and were not able to buy one negro.* Whereupon he asked for a watering place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off called *Santa Fé*, where we found marvellous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof; for that the fresh water came into the sea, and so our ships had aboard the shore 20 fathom water. Near about this place inhabited certain Indians, who the next day after we came thither came down to us, presenting mill and cakes of bread, which they had made of a kind of corn called maize, in bigness of a pease, the ear whereof is much like to a teasel, but a span in length, having thereon a number of grains. Also they brought down to us hens, [sweet] potatoes, and pines, which we bought for beads, pewter whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles.

These potatoes be the most delicate roots that may be eaten, and do far exceed our parsnips or carrots. Their pines be of the bigness of two fists, the outside whereof is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is soft like the rind of a cucumber, and the inside eateth like an apple; but it is more delicious than any sweet apple sugared. These Indians being of colour tawny like an olive, having every one of them, both men and women, hair all black, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging down to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women

suffering any hair to grow in any part of their body, but daily pull it off as it groweth. They go all naked, the men covering no part of their body but their † loins. The women also are uncovered, saving with a cloth which they wear a hand-breadth. * * * These people be very small feeders; for travelling they carry but two small bottles of gourds, wherein they put, in one the juice of sorrel, whereof they have great store, and in the other flour of their maize, which, being moist, they eat, taking sometime of the other. These men carry every man his bow and arrows. Whereof some arrows are poisoned for wars, which they keep in a cane together, which cane is of the bigness of a man's arm; other some with broad heads of iron, wherewith they strike fish in the water. The experience whereof we saw not once nor twice, but daily for the time we tarried there. For they are so good archers that the Spaniards for fear thereof arm themselves and their horses with quilted canvas of two inches thick, and leave no place of their body open to their enemies, saving their eyes, which they may not hide; and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling. Their poison is of such a force that a man being stricken therewith dieth within four-and-twenty hours, as the Spaniards do affirm; and, in my judgment, it is like there can be no stronger poison as they make it, using thereunto apples which are very fair and red of colour, but are a strong poison, with the which, together with venomous bats, vipers, adders, and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same. * * * The beds which they have are made of gossampin[1] cotton, and wrought artificially of divers colours, which they carry about with them when they travel, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein, they and their women. The people be surely gentle and

[1] Gossampinus = the Cotton-tree (Pliny).

tractable, and such as desire to live peaceably, or else had it been unpossible for the Spaniards to have conquered them as they did, and the more to live now peaceably, they being so many in number and the Spaniards so few.

From hence we departed the eight and twentieth, and the next day we passed between the mainland and the island called *Tortuga*, a very low island, in the year of our Lord God 1565 aforesaid, and sailed along the coast until the first of April. At which time the captain sailed along in the *Jesus'* pinnace to discern the coast, and saw many *Caribs* on shore, and some, also, in their *canoas*, which made tokens unto him of friendship, and shewed him gold, meaning thereby that they would traffic for wares. Whereupon he stayed to see the manners of them; and so for two or three trifles they gave such things as they had about them, and departed. But the *Caribs* were very importunate to have them come on shore, which, if it had not been for want of wares to traffic with them, he would not have denied them, because the Indians which he saw before were very gentle people, and such as do no man hurt. But, as God would have it, he wanted that thing, which if he had had would have been his confusion. For these were no such kind of people as we took them to be, but more devilish a thousand parts, and are eaters and devourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared unto us at *Burboroata*, by a carvel coming out of *Spain* with certain soldiers, and a captain-general sent by the king for those eastward parts of the Indians. Who, sailing along in his pinnace, as our captain did, to descry the coast, was by the *Caribs* called ashore with sundry tokens made to him of friendship, and gold shewed, as though they desired traffic; with the which the Spaniard being moved, suspecting no deceit at all, went ashore amongst them.

Who was no sooner ashore but, with four or five more, was taken; the rest of his company being invaded by them, saved themselves by flight; but they that were taken paid their ransom with their lives, and were presently eaten. And this is their practice, to toll[1] with their gold the ignorant to their snares. They are blood-suckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps; not sparing their own countrymen if they can conveniently come by them. Their policy in fight with the Spaniards is marvellous; for they choose for their refuge the mountains and woods, where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them. And if they fortune to be met in the plain, where one horse-man may overrun 100 of them, they have a device of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground and also small iron pikes to mischief their horses, wherein they show themselves politic warriors. They have more abundance of gold than all the Spaniards have, and live upon the mountains; where the mines are in such number, that the Spaniards have much ado to get any of them from them; and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two years, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keep sure enough.

Thus having escaped the danger of them, we kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a town called *Burboroata*[2], where his ships came to an anchor, and he himself went ashore to speak with the Spaniards. To whom he declared himself to be an Englishman, and come thither to trade with them by way of merchandise, and therefore required licence for the same. Unto whom they made answer, that they

[1] Entice.
[2] Now Puerto Cabello, in Venezuela. It was founded in 1549, and quickly became famous as a resort of smugglers.

were forbidden by the king to traffic with any foreign nation, upon penalty to forfeit their goods. Therefore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came; for other comfort he might not look for at their hands, because they were subjects and might not go beyond the law. But he replied that his necessity was such, as he might not so do. For being in one of the Queen's *Armadas* of *England*, and having many soldiers therein, he had need both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without which he could not depart. And with much other talk persuaded them not to fear any dishonest part on his behalf towards them; for neither would he commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, unless he were too rigorously dealt withal, which he hoped not to find at their hands, in that it should as well redound to their profit as his own. And also he thought they might do it without danger, because their princes were in amity one with another. And for our parts we had free traffic in *Spain* and *Flanders*, which are his dominions; and, therefore, he knew no reason why he should not have the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answer that it lay not in them to give any licence, for that they had a governor to whom the government of those parts was committed; but if he would stay ten days, they would send to their governor, who was threescore leagues off, and would return answer, within the space appointed, of his mind.

In the meantime they were contented he should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliver him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in; where being one day, and receiving all things according to promise, the captain advised himself that to remain there ten days idle,

spending victuals and men's wages, and perhaps in the end receive no good answer from the governor, it were mere folly; and therefore determined to make request to have licence for the sale of certain lean and sick negroes which he had in his ship like to die upon his hands if he kept them ten days, having little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men having them they would be recovered well enough. And this request he was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals and for necessaries which he should take. Which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and town-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for 30 negroes; which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent that they should grant to nothing but that were very reasonable, for fear of answering thereunto afterwards. This being passed, our captain, according to their licence, thought to have made sale. But the day passed and none came to buy, who before made show that they had great need of them; and therefore [he] wist not what to surmise of them. Whether they went about to prolong the time of the governor's answer, because they would keep themselves blameless, or for any other policy, he knew not; and for that purpose sent them word, marvelling what the matter was, that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence only to the poor to buy those negroes of small price, and their money was not so ready as other men's of more wealth. More than that, as soon as ever they saw the ships, they conveyed away their money by their wives that went into the mountains for fear, and were not yet returned, and yet asked two days to seek their wives and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day divers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of

price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the captain, perceiving they went about to bring down the price, and meant to buy, and would not confess if he had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the town, and made a show he would depart; declaring himself to be very sorry that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the governor to come down, seeing now that his pretence was to depart. Whereat they marvelled much, and asked him what cause moved him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibility to have his licence.

To the which he replied that it was not only a licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceived was not there to be had, and therefore would seek further; and withal showed them his writings, what he paid for his negroes; declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping and men's wages, and, therefore, to countervail his charges, he must sell his negroes for a greater price than they offered. So they, doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there than in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence, that he should not lose his labour in tarrying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon the captain, being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that he might make sale of his lean negroes, which they granted unto. And the next day [he] did sell some of them. Who having bought and paid for them, thinking to have had a discharge of the Customer for the custom of the negroes, being the king's duty, they gave it away to the poor for God's sake, and did refuse to give the discharge in writing; and the poor, not trusting their words, for fear lest hereafter it might be demanded of them, did refrain from buying any more; so that

nothing else was done until the governor's coming down, which was the fourteenth day. And then the captain made petition ; declaring that he was come thither in a ship of the Queen's Majesty's of *England*, being bound to *Guinea*, and thither driven by wind and weather; so that being come thither, he had need of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said navy, and also great need of money for the payment of his soldiers, unto whom he had promised payment; and therefore, although he would, yet would not they depart without it. And for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certain of his negroes; declaring, that although they were forbidden to traffic with strangers, yet as there was a great amity between their princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queen's highness, he thought he might do their prince great service, and that it would be well taken at his hands to do it in this cause. The which allegations, with divers others, put in request, were presented unto the governor; who, sitting in council for that matter, granted unto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing, which was the abating of the king's custom, being upon every slave thirty ducats, which would not be granted unto.

Whereupon the captain perceiving that they would neither come near his price he looked for by a great deal, nor yet would abate the king's custom of that they offered, so that either he must be a great loser by his wares, or else compel the officers to abate the same king's custom, which was too unreasonable, for to a higher price he could not bring the buyers; therefore, the 16. of April, he prepared 100 men well armed with bows, arrows, arquebuses, and pikes, with which he marched to the townwards. And being perceived by the governor, he straight with all expedition sent messengers

to know his request; desiring him to march no further forward until he had answer again, which incontinent he should have. So our captain, declaring how unreasonable a thing the king's custom was, requested to have the same abated, and to pay seven and a half *per centum*, which is the ordinary custom for wares through his dominions there; and unto this if they would not grant, he would displease them. And this word being carried to the governor, answer was returned that all things should be to his content; and thereupon he determined to depart. But the soldiers and mariners, finding so little credit in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premisses, or else they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, we departed; beginning our traffic, and ending the same without disturbance.

Thus having made traffic in the harborough until the 28. our captain with his ships intended to go out of the road, and purposed to make show of his departure; because now the common sort having employed their money, the rich men were come to town, who made no show that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring down the price; and by this policy the captain knew they would be made the more eager, for fear lest we departed, and they should go without any at all.

The 29. we being at anchor without the road, a French ship called the *Green Dragon*, of *Newhaven*, whereof was captain one *Bontemps*, came in; who saluted us after the manner of the sea, with certain pieces of ordnance, and we re-saluted him with the like again. With whom having communication, he declared that he had been at the Mine in *Guinea*, and was beaten off by the Portugals' galleys, and enforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had; and further, that

the like was happened unto the *Minion*; besides the captain, *Davie Carlet*, and a merchant, with a dozen mariners, betrayed by the negroes at their first arrival thither, and remaining prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misadventures of the loss of their men, happened through the great lack of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships; which was most sorrowful for us to understand.

Thus having ended our traffic here, the fourth of May we departed, leaving the Frenchman behind us; the night before the which the *Caribs*, whereof I have made mention before, being to the number of 200, came in their *canoas* to *Burboroata*, intending by night to have burned the town, and taken the Spaniards. Who being more vigilant, because of our being there, than was their custom, perceiving them coming, raised the town; who in a moment being a-horseback (by means their custom is for all doubts to keep their horses ready saddled), in the night set upon them and took one; but the rest, making shift for themselves, escaped away. But this one, because he was their guide, and was the occasion that divers times they had made invasion upon them, had for his travail a stake thrust through his fundament, and so out at his neck.

The sixth of May aforesaid, we came to an island called *Curaçao*, where we had thought to have anchored, but could not find ground, and having let fall an anchor with two cables, were fain to weigh it again; and the seventh, sailing along the coast to seek an harborough, and finding none, we came to an anchor where we rode open in the sea. In this place we had traffic for hides, and found great refreshing, both of beef, mutton, and lambs, whereof there was such plenty, that saving the skins, we had the flesh given us for nothing; the plenty whereof was so abundant, that the worst in the ship

thought scorn not only of mutton, but also of sodden lamb, which they disdained to eat unroasted.

The increase of cattle in this island is marvellous, which from a dozen of each sort brought thither by the governor, in 25 years he had 100,000 at the least, and of other cattle was able to kill, without spoil of the increase, 1,500 yearly, which he killeth for the skins, and of the flesh saveth only the tongues, the rest he leaveth to the fowl to devour. And this I am able to affirm, not only upon the governor's own report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, which so remaineth unto this day, but also by that I saw myself in one field, where 100 oxen lay one by another all whole, saving the skin and tongue taken away. And it is not so marvellous a thing why they do thus cast away the flesh in all the islands of the West *Indies*; seeing the land is great, and more than they are able to inhabit; the people few, and having delicate fruits and meats enough besides to feed upon, which they rather desire; and the increase, which passeth man's reason to believe, when they come to a great number. For in *Santo Domingo*, an island called by the finders thereof *Hispaniola*, there is so great a quantity of cattle, and such increase thereof, that notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not possible to assuage the number of them, but they are devoured by wild dogs; whose number is such, by suffering them first to range the woods and mountains, that they eat and destroy 60,000 a year, and yet small lack found of them. And no marvel, for the said island is almost as big as all *England*, and being the first place that was found of all the Indies, and long time inhabited before the rest, it ought, therefore, of reason to be most populous: and to this hour, the Viceroy and Council Royal abideth there, as in the chiefest place of all the *Indies*, to prescribe

orders to the rest for the king's behalf. Yet have they but one city and thirteen villages in all the same island; whereby the spoil of them[1] in respect of the increase is nothing.

The 15. of the foresaid month, we departed from *Curaçao*, being not a little to the rejoicing of our captain and us, that we had there ended our traffic. But notwithstanding our sweet meat, we had sour sauce; for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blasts, whereby our anchors being aground, three at once came home[2], and also with contrary winds blowing, whereby, for fear of the shore, we were fain to haul off to have anchor-hold, sometimes a whole day and a night we turned up and down; and this happened not once, but half a dozen times in the space of our being there.

The 16. we passed by an island called *Aruba*, and the 17. at night, anchored six hours at the west end of *Cabo de la Vela*, and in the morning, being the 18. weighed again, keeping our course. In the which time the captain, sailing by the shore in the pinnace, came to the *Rancheria*, a place where the Spaniards use to fish for pearls, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who told him how far off he was from *Rio de la Hacha*. Which because he would not over-shoot, he anchored that night again, and the 19. came thither. Where having talk with the king's Treasurer of the *Indies* resident there, he declared his quiet traffic in *Burboroata*, and showed a certificate of the same, made by the governor thereof; and therefore he desired to have the like there also. But the treasurer made answer, that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and Council of *St. Domingo*; who having intelligence of our being on

[1] I.e. of the cattle; 'the consumption of them is as nothing compared with the increase of them.'

[2] Lost hold.

the coast, did send express commission, to resist us with all the force they could. Insomuch that they durst not traffic with us in no case; alleging that if they did, they should lose all that they did traffic for, besides their bodies at the magistrate's commandment. Our captain replied that he was in an *Armada* of the Queen's Majesty's of *England*, and sent about other her affairs; but, driven besides his pretended voyage, was enforced by contrary winds to come into those parts; where he hoped to find such friendship as he should do in *Spain*. To the contrary whereof he knew no reason, in that there was amity betwixt their princes. But seeing they would, contrary to all reason, go about to withstand his traffic, he would it should not be said by him, that, having the force he hath, to be driven from his traffic perforce; but he would rather put it in adventure to try whether he or they should have the better; and therefore willed them to determine, either to give him licence to trade, or else to stand to their own harms. So upon this it was determined he should have licence to trade, but they would give him such a price as was the one half less than he had sold for before. And thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise; and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were determined not to deal otherwise with him. Whereupon the captain, weighing their unconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throat in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated as they could not by a great deal have the like at any other man's hands. But seeing they had sent him this to his supper, he would in the morning bring them as good a breakfast.

And therefore in the morning, being the 21. of May, he shot off a whole culverin to summon the town, and

preparing 100 men in armour, went ashore, having in his great boat two falcons[1] of brass, and in the other boats double bases in their noses. Which being perceived by the townsmen, they incontinent in battle array, with their drum and ensign displayed, marched from the town to the sands, of footmen to the number of 150, making great brags with their cries, and waving us ashore, whereby they made a semblance to have fought with us indeed. But our captain, perceiving them so brag, commanded the two falcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small fear, to see, as they afterward declared, such great pieces in a boat. At every shot they fell flat to the ground; and as we approached near unto them, they broke their array, and dispersed themselves so much for fear of the ordnance, that at last they went all away with their ensign. The horsemen, also, being about 30, made as brave a show as might be, coursing up and down with their horses, their brave white leather targets in the one hand, and their javelins in the other, as though they would have received us at our landing. But when we landed, they gave ground, and consulted what they should do. For little they thought we should have landed so boldly; and therefore, as the captain was putting his men in array, and marched forward to have encountered with them, they sent a messenger on horseback, with a flag of truce to the captain, who declared that the treasurer marvelled what he meant to do, to come ashore in that order, in consideration that they had granted to every reasonable request that he did demand. But the captain, not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger prayed him to stay his men, and said if he would come apart from his men, the treasurer would come and speak

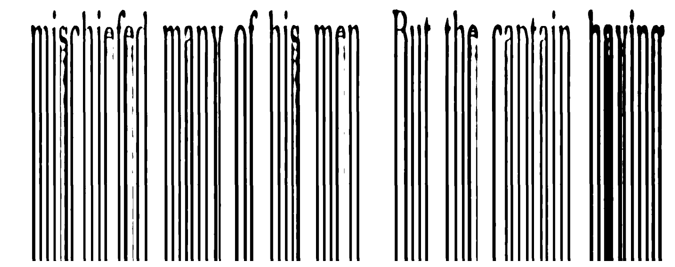
[1] A cannon of 2½ in. bore, carrying a lb. of shot.

with him, whereunto he did agree to commune together. The captain only with his armour, without weapon, and the treasurer on horseback with his javelin, was afraid to come near him for fear of his armour, which he said was worse than his weapon, and so keeping aloof communing together, granted in fine to all his requests. Which being declared by the captain to the company, they desired to have pledges for the performance of all things; doubting that otherwise, when they had made themselves stronger, they would have been at defiance with us. And seeing that now they might have what they would request, they judged it to be more wisdom to be in assurance, than to be forced to make any more labours about it. So upon this, gages were sent, and we made our traffic quietly with them.

In the meantime while we stayed here, we watered a good breadth off from the shore, where, by the strength of the fresh water running into the sea, the salt water was made fresh. In this river we saw many crocodiles of sundry bignesses, but some as big as a boat, with four feet, a long broad mouth, and a long tail; whose skin is so hard that a sword will not pierce it. His nature is to live out of the water, as a frog doth; but he is a great devourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beasts, nor men, if he take them, as the proof thereof was known by a negro, who, as he was filling water in the river, was by one of them carried clean away and never seen after. His nature is ever when he would have his prey, to cry and sob like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then he snatcheth at them; and thereupon came this proverb, that is applied unto women when they weep, *lachrymae crocodili*, the meaning whereof is, that as the crocodile when he crieth goeth then about most to deceive, so doth a woman most commonly when she

weepeth. Of these the master of the *Jesus* watched one, and by the bank's side struck him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after three or four times turning in sight, he sunk down, and was not afterward seen. In the time of our being in the rivers [of] *Guinea*, we saw many of a monstrous bigness, amongst the which the captain, being in one of the barks coming down the same, shot a falcon at one, which very narrowly he missed; and with a fear he plunged into the water, making a stream like the way of a boat.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a fear that the Spaniards doubted we would have done them some harm before we departed, or for any treason that they intended towards us, I am not able to say; but then came thither a captain from some of the other towns, with a dozen soldiers, upon a time when our captain and the treasurer cleared all things between them, and were in a communication of a debt of the governor's of *Burboroata*, which was to be paid by the said treasurer, who would not answer the same by any means. Whereupon certain words of displeasure passed betwixt the captain and him; and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our captain would perforce have sought the same, did immediately command his men to arms, both horsemen and footmen. But because the captain was in the river on the back-side of the town with his other boats, and all his men unarmed and without weapons, it was to be judged he meant him little good; having that advantage of him, that coming upon the sudden, he might have



mischiefed many of his men. But the captain having

their men in that order. And they answered, that their captain being come to town did muster his men according to his accustomed manner. But it is to be judged to be a cloak, in that coming for that purpose he might have done it sooner. But the truth is, they were not of force until then, whereby to enterprise any matter against us, by means of pikes and arquebuses, whereof they have want, and were now furnished by our captain, and also three falcons, which having got in other places, they had secretly conveyed thither, which made them the bolder; and also for that they saw now a convenient place to do such a feat, and time also serving thereunto, by the means that our men were not only unarmed and unprovided, as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any harm: these were occasions to provoke them thereunto. And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that I with another gentleman being in the town, thinking of no harm towards us, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurer's house, whereof I marvelled, and revoking to mind the former talk between the captain and him, and the unreadiness of our men, of whom advantage might have been taken, departed out of the town immediately to give knowledge thereof. But before we came to our men by a flight-shot, two horsemen riding a-gallop were come near us, being sent, as we did guess, to stay us lest we should carry news to our captain. But seeing us so near our men they stayed their horses, coming together, and suffering us to pass, belike because we were so near, that if they had gone about the same, they would have been espied by some of our men which then immediately would have departed, whereby they should have been frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen rode about the bushes to espy what we did, and seeing us gone, to the intent

they might shadow their coming down in post, whereof suspicion might be had, feigned a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine. But that seemed so simple to the captain, that standing in doubt of their courtesy, he returned in the morning with his three boats, appointed with bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, whereas before he carried none. And thus dissembling all injuries conceived of both parts, the captain went ashore, leaving pledges in the boats for himself, and cleared all things between the treasurer and him, saving for the governor's debt, which the one by no means would answer, and the other, because it was not his due debt, would not molest him for it, but was content to remit it until another time, and therefore departed, causing the two barks which rode near the shore to weigh and go under sail. Which was done because that our captain demanding a testimonial of his good behaviour there, could not have the same until he were under sail ready to depart. And therefore at night he went for the same again, and received it at the treasurer's hand, of whom very courteously he took his leave and departed, shooting off the bases of his boat for his farewell, and the townsmen also shot off four falcons and thirty arquebuses. And this was the first time that he knew of the conveyance of their falcons.

The 31. of May we departed, keeping our course to *Hispaniola*, and the fourth of June we had sight of an island, which we made to be *Jamaica*, marvelling that by the vehement course of the seas we should be driven so far to leeward. For setting our course to the west end of *Hispaniola*, we fell with the middle of *Jamaica*, notwithstanding that to all men's sight it showed a headland; but they were all deceived by the clouds that lay upon the land two days together, in such sort that we

thought it to be the headland of the said island. And a Spaniard being in the ship, who was a merchant, and inhabitant in *Jamaica*, having occasion to go to *Guinea*, and being by treason taken by the negroes, and afterwards bought by the *Tangomangos*, was by our captain brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his country. Who, perceiving the land, made as though he knew every place thereof; and pointed to certain places which he named to be such a place, and such a man's ground, and that behind such a point was the harborough. But in the end he pointed so from one point to another that we were a lee-board of all places, and found ourselves at the west end of *Jamaica* before we were aware of it; and being once to leeward, there was no getting up again. So that by trusting of the Spaniard's knowledge, our captain sought not to speak with any of the inhabitants; which if he had not made himself sure of, he would have done as his custom was in other places. But this man was a plague not only to our captain, who made him lose by overshooting the place £2,000 by hides, which he might have got, but also to himself. Who being three years out of his country, and in great misery in *Guinea*, both among the negroes and *Tangomangos*, and in hope to come to his wife and friends, as he made sure account, in that at his going into the pinnace, when he went to shore, he put on his new clothes, and for joy flung away his old, could not afterwards find any habitation, neither there nor in all *Cuba*, which we sailed all along. But it fell out ever by one occasion or other that we were put beside the same; so that he was fain to be brought into *England*. And it happened to him as it did to a duke of *Samaria*, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, and being told by the prophet *Elizaeus*, that a bushel of flour should be sold for a shekel, would

not believe him, but thought it unpossible; and for that cause *Elizaeus* prophesied he should see the same done, but he should not eat thereof. So this man being absent three years, and not ever thinking to have seen his own country, did see the same, went upon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remain with his friends according to his desire.

Thus having sailed along the coast two days, we departed the 7. of June, being made to believe by the Spaniard that it was not *Jamaica*, but rather *Hispaniola*. Of which opinion the captain also was, because that which he made *Jamaica* seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby took it rather to be *Hispaniola*, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not believe he was so far driven to leeward; and therefore setting his course to *Jamaica*, and after certain days not finding the same, perceived then certainly that the island which he was at before was *Jamaica*, and that the clouds did deceive him, whereof he marvelled not a little. And this mistaking of the place came to as ill a pass as the overshooting of *Jamaica*: for by this did he also overpass a place in *Cuba*, called *Santa Cruz*, where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had. And thus being disappointed of two of his ports, where he thought to have raised great profit by his traffic, and also to have found great refreshing of victuals and water for his men, he was now disappointed greatly. And such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seek the shore to obtain the same, which he had sight of after certain days overpassed with storms and contrary winds; but yet not of the main of *Cuba*, but of certain islands in number two hundred, whereof the most part were desolate of inhabitants. By the which islands the

captain passing in his pinnace, could find no fresh water until he came to an island bigger than all the rest, called the Isle of *Pinos*; where we anchored with our ships the 16. of June, and found water. Which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the means it is standing, and but the water of rain, and also being near the sea, was brackish, yet did we not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, than we should have been another time with fine conduit water. Thus being reasonably watered, we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very convenient for such ships of charge as they were; because there were many shoals to leeward, which also lay open to the sea for any wind that should blow. And therefore the captain made the more haste away, which was not unneedful: for little sooner were their anchors weighed and foresail set, but there arose such a storm, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoals. For one of the barks, not being fully ready as the rest, was fain for haste to cut the cable in the hawse, and lose both anchor and cable to save herself.

Thus the 17. of June we departed; and the 20. we fell with the west end of *Cuba*, called *Cape St. Anthony*, where for the space of three days we doubled along, till we came beyond the shoals, which are 20 leagues beyond St. *Anthony*. And the ordinary breeze taking us, which is the north-east wind, put us, the four and twentieth, from the shore; and therefore we went to the north-west to fetch wind, and also to the coast of *Florida* to have the help of the current, which was judged to have set to the eastward. So the 29. we found ourselves in 27 degrees, and in the soundings of *Florida*; where we kept ourselves the space of four days, sailing along the coast as near as we could, in ten or twelve fathom water, having all the while no sight of land.

The fifth of July we had sight of certain islands of sand, called the *Tortugas*, which is low land; where the captain went in with his pinnace, and found such a number of birds, that in half-an-hour he laded her with them; and if they had been ten boats more they might have done the like. These islands bear the name of *Tortoises*, because of the number of them which there do breed; whose nature is to live both in the water and upon land also, but breed only upon the shore, in making a great pit wherein they lay eggs, to the number of three or four hundred. And covering them with sand, they are hatched by the heat of the sun; and by this means cometh the great increase. Of these we took very great ones, which have both back and belly all of bone, of the thickness of an inch: the flesh whereof we proved, eating much like veal; and finding a number of eggs in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very sweetly. Here we anchored six hours, and then a fair gale of wind springing, we weighed anchor, and made sail toward *Cuba*; whither we came the sixth day, and weathered as far as the *Table*, being a hill so called, because of the form thereof. Here we lay off and on all night, to keep that we had gotten to windward, intending to have watered in the morning, if we could have done it, or else if the wind had come larger, to have plied to windward to *Havana*, which is an harborough whereunto all the fleet of the Spaniards come, and do there tarry to have one the company of another. This hill we thinking to have been the *Table*, made account, as it was indeed, that *Havana* was but eight leagues to windward. But by the persuasion of a Frenchman, who made the captain believe he knew the *Table* very well, and had been at *Havana*, [who] said that it was not the *Table*, and that the *Table* was much higher, and nearer to the sea-side, and that there was no plain

ground to the eastward, nor hills to the westward, but all was contrary, and that behind the hills to the westward was *Havana,* to which persuasion credit being given by some, and they not of the worst, the captain was persuaded to go to leeward, and so sailed along, the seventh and eighth days, finding no habitation, nor no other *Table.* And then perceiving his folly to give ear to such praters, was not a little sorry; both because he did consider what time he should spend yere he could get so far to windward again, which would have been, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelve days' work, and what it would have been longer he knew not; and, that which was worst, he had not above a day's water, and therefore knew not what shift to make. But in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not live with it, he determined to seek water, and to go further to leeward, to a place, as it is set in the card, called *Rio de los Puercos*; which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoals he might have such access with his ships, that he might conveniently take in the same. And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesaid, Almighty God our guide, who would not suffer us to run into any further danger, which we had been like to have incurred, if we had ranged the coast of *Florida* along as we did before, (which is so dangerous, by reports, that no ship escapeth which cometh thither, as the Spaniards have very well proved the same,) sent us, the eighth day at night, a fair westerly wind. Whereupon the captain and company consulted, determining not to refuse God's gift, but every man was contented to pinch his own belly, whatsoever had happened: and taking the said wind, the 9. day of July got to the *Table,* and sailing the same night, unawares overshot *Havana,* at which place we thought

to have watered, but the next day, not knowing that we had overshot the same, sailed along the coast seeking it. And the eleventh day in the morning, by certain known marks, we understood that we had overshot it 20 leagues. In which coast ranging we found no convenient watering place; whereby there was no remedy but to disemboque, and to water upon the coast of *Florida*. For, to go further to the eastward we could not for the shoals, which are very dangerous; and because the current shooteth to the north-east, we doubted by the force thereof to be set upon them, and therefore durst not approach them. So making but reasonable way the day aforesaid and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell with the islands upon the cape of *Florida*, which we could scant double, by the means that fearing the shoals to the eastwards, and doubting the current coming out of the west, which was not of that force that we made account of; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a current that, bearing all sails against the same, yet [we] were driven back again a great pace. The experience whereof we had by the *Jesus'* pinnace, and the *Solomon's* boat; which were sent the same day in the afternoon, whiles the ships were becalmed, to see if they could find any water upon the islands aforesaid. Who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being further off than they deemed it to be; and in the meantime a fair gale of wind springing at sea, the ships departed, making a sign to them to come away. Who, although they saw them depart, because they were so near the shore, would not lose all the labour they had taken, but determined to keep their way, and see if there were any water to be had, making no account but to find the ships well enough. But they spent so much time in filling the water which they had

found, that the night was come before they could make an end. And having lost the sight of the ships, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they should seek them again. As indeed there was a more doubt than they knew of; for when they departed the ships were in no current, and sailing but a mile further, they found one so strong, that bearing all sails it could not prevail against the same, but were driven back. Whereupon the captain sent the *Solomon* with the other two barks to bear near the shore all night, because the current was less there a great deal, and to bear light, with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The *Jesus* also bare a light in her top-gallant, and shot off a piece also now and then; but the night passed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no news could be heard of them. But the ships and barks ceased not to look still for them, yet they thought it was all in vain, by the means they heard not of them all the night past; and therefore determined to tarry no longer, seeking for them till noon, and if they heard no news, then they would depart to the *Jesus*, who perforce by the vehemency of the current was carried almost out of sight. But as God would have it, now time being come, and they having tacked about, in the pinnace's top had sight of them and took them up. They in the boats, being to the number of one-and-twenty, having sight of the ships, and seeing them tacking about, whereas before at the first sight of them they did greatly rejoice, were now in a greater perplexity than ever they were; for by this they thought themselves utterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to have found them. Truly God wrought marvellously for them, for they themselves having no victuals but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion

to bestow any further time in seeking the ships than that present noon-time; so that if they had not at that instant espied them, they had gone to the shore to have made provision for victuals, and with such things as they could have gotten, either to have gone for that part of *Florida* where the Frenchmen were planted (which would have been very hard for them to have done, because they wanted victuals to bring them hither, being 120 leagues off), or else to have remained among the Floridians. At whose hands, they were put in comfort by a Frenchman, who was with them, that had remained in *Florida* at the first finding thereof, a whole year together, to receive victuals sufficient and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a year or two, until which time God might have provided for them. But how contrary this would have fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to judge, seeing those people of the cape of *Florida* are of more savage and fierce nature, and more valiant than any of the rest. Which the Spaniards well proved, who being 500 men who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were enforced to forsake the same; and of their cruelty mention is made in the book of *Decades*[1], of a friar, who taking upon him to persuade the people to subjection, was by them taken, and his skin cruelly pulled over his ears, and his flesh eaten.

In these islands they being ashore found a dead man, dried in a manner whole, with other heads and bodies of men; so that these sorts of men are eaters of the flesh of men, as well as the *Cannibals*. But to return to our purpose.

The fourteenth day the ship and barks came to the

[1] Richard Eden's *Decades of the New World*, 1555, fo. 319. In his preface to this work Eden urges England to follow the example of Spain and to plant colonies in Florida and Bacallaos (Newfoundland).

Jesus, bringing them news of the recovery of the men, which was not a little to the rejoicing of the captain and the whole company; and so then altogether they kept on their way along the coast of *Florida*, and the fifteenth day came to an anchor, and so from six-and-twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a half, where the Frenchmen abode, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, anchoring every night because we would overshoot no place of fresh water. And in the day-time the captain in the ship's pinnace sailed along the shore, went into every creek, speaking with divers of the Floridians, because he would understand where the Frenchmen inhabited; and not finding them in eight-and-twenty degrees, as it was declared unto him, marvelled thereat, and never left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited in a river, by them called the river of *May*[1], and standing in 30 degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captain found it to be all an island, and therefore it is all low land, and very scant of fresh water; but the country was marvellously sweet, with both marish and meadow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found sorrel to grow as abundantly as grass, and where their houses were, great store of maize and mill, and grapes of great bigness, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also deer great plenty, which came upon the sands before them.

Their houses are not many together, for in one house an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barn, and in strength not inferior to ours, for they have stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are covered with palmito leaves, having no place divided, but one small room for their king and queen. In the midst of this house is a hearth, where they make

[1] The St. John's River.

great fires all night; and they sleep upon certain pieces of wood hewn in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walls on both sides. In their houses they remain only in the nights, and in the day they desire the fields, where they dress their meat and make provision for victuals, which they provide only for a meal from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be marvelled at, for the making of their fire, and not only they, but also the negroes do the same, which is made only by two sticks, rubbing them one against another; and this they may do in any place they come, where they find sticks sufficient for the purpose. In their apparel the men only use deer skins, * * * which skins are painted, some yellow and red, some black and russet, and every man according to his own fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antique work, as every man in his own fancy deviseth, which painting to make it continue the better, they use with a thorn to prick their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may have better hold. In their wars they use a slighter colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themselves show the more fierce; which, after their wars ended, they wash away again. In their wars they use bows and arrows, whereof their bows are made of a kind of yew, but blacker than ours, and for the most part passing the strength of the negroes or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours. Their arrows are also of a great length, but yet of reeds, like other Indians; but varying in two points, both in length and also for nocks and feathers, which the others lack, whereby they shoot very steady. The heads of the same are vipers' teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, peaked points of knives, which they having gotten of the Frenchmen, broke the same, and put the

points of them in their arrows' heads; some of them have their heads of silver; other some, that have want of these, put in a kind of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as far as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they use a marvellous policy for their own safeguard, which is by clasping a tree in their arms, and yet shooting notwithstanding. This policy they used with the Frenchmen in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some policy. And although they are called by the Spaniards *Gente triste*, that is to say 'Sad people,' meaning thereby that they are not men of capacity, yet have the Frenchmen found them so witty in their answers that, by the captain's own report, a counsellor with us could not give a more profound reason. The women also for their apparel use painted skins, but most of them gowns of moss, somewhat longer than our moss, which they sew together artificially, and make the same surplice-wise, wearing their hair down to their shoulders, like the Indians.

In this river of *May* aforesaid the captain, entering with his pinnace, found a French ship of fourscore ton, and two pinnaces of fifteen ton apiece by her; and speaking with the keepers thereof, they told him of a fort two leagues up, which they had built, in which their captain Monsieur *Laudonnière* was, with certain soldiers therein. To whom our captain sending to understand of a watering place, where he might conveniently take it in, and to have licence for the same, he straight, because there was no convenient place but up the river five leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barks, which, going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, anchored before the fort, into the which our captain went, where he was by the General, with other captains and soldiers, very

gently entertained; who declared unto him the time of their being there, which was 14 months, with the extremity they were driven to for want of victuals, having brought very little with them. In which place they, being 200 men at their first coming, had in short space eaten all the maize they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driven certain of them to serve a king of the Floridians against other his enemies for mill and other victuals, which having gotten, could not serve them, being so many, so long a time; but want came upon them in such sort that they were fain to gather acorns, which, being stamped small and often washed to take away the bitterness of them, they did use for bread, eating withal sundry times roots, whereof they found many good and wholesome, and such as serve rather for medicines than for meats alone. But this hardness not contenting some of them, who would not take the pains so much as to fish in the river before their doors, but would have all things put in their mouths, they did rebel against the captain, taking away first his armour, and afterward imprisoning him: and so, to the number of fourscore of them, departed with a bark and a pinnace, spoiling their storè of victual, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and so went to the islands of *Hispaniola* and *Jamaica* a-roving, where they spoiled and pilled the Spaniards; and having taken two carvels laden with wine and *cassavi*, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughty stomachs that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborough in *Jamaica*, going daily ashore at their pleasure. But God, who would not suffer such evildoers unpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort

that they lingered the time so long that a ship and galliasse being made out of *St. Domingo*, came thither into the harborough and took twenty of them, whereof the most part were hanged and the rest carried into Spain, and some, to the number of five-and-twenty, escaped in the pinnace and came to Florida, where, at their landing, they were put into prison; and incontinent four of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the soldiers did pass the arquebusers, and then were hanged upon a gibbet.

This lack of threescore men was a great discourage and weakening to the rest, for they were the best soldiers that they had; for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their daily craving of maize, having no wares left to content them withal, and therefore were enforced to rob them, and to take away their victual perforce, which was the occasion that the Floridians, not well contented therewith, did take certain of their company in the woods, and slew them; whereby there grew great wars betwixt them and the Frenchmen. And therefore they, being but a few in number, durst not venture abroad, but at such time as they were enforced thereunto for want of food to do the same; and going, twenty arquebusers in a company, were set upon by eighteen kings, having seven or eight hundred men, which with one of their bows slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, and drove them all down to their boats. Whose policy in fight was to be marvelled at; for having shot at divers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiving that their arrows did not prevail against the same, they shot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, having not above forty soldiers left unhurt, whereby they might ill make any more

invasions upon the Floridians, and keep their fort withal, which they must have been driven unto had not God sent us thither for their succour; for they had not above ten days' victual left before we came. In which perplexity our captain seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meal and four pipes of beans, with divers other victuals and necessaries which he might conveniently spare; and to help them the better homewards, whither they were bound before our coming, at their request we spared them one of our barks, of fifty ton[1].

Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yield victuals sufficient if they would have taken pains to get the same; but they, being soldiers, desired to live by the sweat of other men's brows. For while they had peace with the Floridians they had fish sufficient by weirs which they made to catch the same; but when they grew to wars the Floridians took away the same again, and then would not the Frenchmen take the pains to make any more. The ground yieldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there they made twenty hogsheads of wine. Also it yieldeth roots passing good, deer marvellous store, with divers other beasts and fowl serviceable to the use of man. These be things wherewith a man may live, having corn or maize wherewith to make bread; for maize maketh good savoury bread and cakes as fine as flour. Also it maketh good meal, beaten and sodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh

[1] Hawkins sold the *Tiger* to Laudonnière for 700 crowns, taking guns and ammunition in part payment. The provisions, probably by this time of little value, were a free gift. Laudonnière declined to part with any of the silver which he had collected, fearing that the sight of it might induce Elizabeth to found colonies in Florida, 'as before she had desired' (Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 348).

also good beverage, sodden in water, and nourishable, which the Frenchmen did use to drink of in the morning, and it assuaged their thirst so that they had no need to drink all the day after. And this maize was the greatest lack they had, because they had no labourers to sow the same, and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisite to have labourers to till and sow the ground. For they having victuals of their own, whereby they neither rob nor spoil the inhabitants, may live not only quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace than of wars, but also shall have abundance of victuals proffered them for nothing; for it is with them as it is with one of us, when we see another man ever taking away from us, although we have enough besides, yet then we think all too little for ourselves. For surely we have heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them; for the Indians, with the head of maize roasted, will travel a whole day; and when they are at the Spaniards' finding, they give them nothing but sodden herbs and maize: and in this order I saw threescore of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came 50 leagues off.

The Floridians, when they travel, have a kind of herb dried, who, with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire and the dried herbs put together, do suck thorough the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they live four or five days without meat or drink. And this all the Frenchmen used for this purpose; yet do they hold opinion withal that it causeth water and steam to void from their stomachs. The commodities of this land are more than are yet known to any man; for besides the land itself, whereof there is more than any king Christian is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with meadow, pasture-

ground, with woods of cedar and cypress, and other sorts, as better cannot be in the world. They have for apothecary herbs, trees, roots, and gums great store, as *storax liquida*, turpentine, gum, myrrh, and frankincense, with many others whereof I know not the names. Colours, both red, black, yellow, russet, very perfect, wherewith they so paint their bodies and deer-skins which they wear about them, that with water it neither fadeth away nor altereth colour.

Gold and silver they want not; for at the Frenchmen's first coming thither they had the same offered them for little or nothing; for they received for a hatchet two pound weight of gold, because they knew not the estimation thereof. But the soldiers being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giving them nothing for it; the which they perceiving, that both the Frenchmen did greatly esteem it, and also did rigorously deal with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not [have it] be known they had any more, neither durst they wear the same for fear of being taken away. So that, saving at their first coming, they could get none of them. And how they came by this gold and silver the Frenchmen know not as yet, but by guess; who, having travelled to the south-west of the cape, having found the same dangerous by means of sundry banks, as we also have found the same, and there finding masts which were wrecks of Spaniards coming from *Mexico*, judged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that divers wrecks have been made of Spaniards having much treasure. For the Frenchmen having travelled to the capeward 150 miles, did find two Spaniards with the Floridians, whom they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one was in a carvel coming from the *Indies*, which was cast away 14 years ago, and the other 12 years; of whose fellows some escaped, other-

some were slain by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of their gold and silver, for it is wrought flat and graven, which they wear about their necks; othersome made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst, to bolster up their breasts withal, because they think it a deformity to have great breasts. As for mines either of gold or silver, the Frenchmen can hear of none they have upon the island but of copper, whereof as yet also they have not made the proof, because they were but few men. But it is not unlike but that in the main, where are high hills, may be gold and silver as well as in *Mexico*, because it is all one main. The Frenchmen obtained pearls of them of great bigness, but they were black by means of roasting of them; for they do not fish for them as the Spaniards do, but for their meat. For the Spaniards use to keep daily a-fishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them, that be of choice, a thousand. And their order is to go in *canoas*, or rather great pinnaces, with thirty men in a piece; whereof the one half or most part be divers, the rest do open the same for the pearls. For it is not suffered that they should use dragging; for that would bring them out of estimation, and mar the beds of them. The oysters which have the smallest sorts of pearls are found in seven or eight fathom water; but the greatest, in eleven or twelve fathom.

The Floridians have pieces of unicorns' horns, which they wear about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obtained many pieces. Of those unicorns they have many; for that they do affirm it to be a beast with one horn, which, coming to the river to drink, putteth the same into the water before he drinketh[1]. Of this unicorn's horn there are of our company that, having

[1] The 'Unicorn' of North America was probably the bison.

gotten the same of the Frenchmen, brought home thereof to show. It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities as well as that; which, for want of time and people sufficient to inhabit the same, cannot yet come to light; but I trust God will reveal the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shall take it in hand. Of beasts in this country besides deer, foxes, hares, polecats, coneys, ounces, and leopards, I am not able certainly to say; but it is thought that there are lions and tigers as well as unicorns; lions especially, if it be true that is said of the enmity between them and the unicorns. For there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the coney the polecat, a sheep the wolf, the elephant the rhinoceros; and so of other beasts the like, insomuch that whereas the one is the other cannot be missing. And seeing I have made mention of the beasts of this country, it shall not be from my purpose to speak also of the venomous beasts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance; adders of great bigness, whereof our men killed some of a yard and a half long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, upon the which a falcon seizing, the said adder did clasp her tail about her; which the French captain seeing, came to the rescue of the falcon, and took her, slaying the adder. And this falcon being wild, he did reclaim her, and kept her for the space of two months; at which time, for very want of meat, he was fain to cast her off. On these adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of us, and affirmed the same to be a delicate meat. And the captain of the Frenchmen saw also a serpent with three heads and four feet, of the bigness of a great spaniel, which for want of an arquebus he durst not attempt to slay.

Of fish, also, they have in the river pike, roach, salmon,

trout, and divers other small fishes, and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bigness accordingly, having a snout much like a sword of a yard long. There be also of sea-fishes, which we saw coming along the coast, flying, which are of the bigness of a smelt, the biggest sort whereof have four wings, but the others have but two. Of these we saw coming out of *Guinea* a hundred in a company, which, being chased by the gilt-heads, otherwise called the *bonitos*, do, to avoid them the better, take their flight out of the water; but yet are they not able to fly far, because of the drying of their wings, which serve them not to fly but when they are moist, and therefore when they can fly no further, they fall into the water, and having wet their wings, take a new flight again. These *bonitos* be of bigness like a carp, and in colour like a mackerel; but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not only in the water, but also out of the water; for as the flying-fish taketh her flight, so doth this bonito leap after them, and taketh them sometimes above the water. There were some of those *bonitos* which, being galled by a fizgig[1], did follow our ship coming out of *Guinea* 500 leagues. There is a sea-fowl, also, that chaseth this flying-fish as well as the *bonito*; for as the flying-fish taketh her flight, so doth this fowl pursue to take her, which to behold is a greater pleasure than hawking; for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often than a hundred times; for the fowl can fly no way, but one or other lighteth in her paws, the number of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable young fry of these flying-fishes, which commonly keep about the ship, and are

[1] The Spanish *fisga*, a small trident with barbed points, fixed on a staff ten or twelve feet long, attached by a long cord to the ship's side. It is still in use for catching the dolphin and bonito.

not so big as butterflies, and yet by flying do avoid the unsatiableness of the *bonito*. Of the bigger sort of these fishes we took many, which both night and day flew into the sails of our ship, and there was not one of them which was not worth a *bonito*; for being put upon a hook drabbling in the water, the *bonito* would leap thereat, and so was taken. Also we took many with a white cloth made fast to a hook, which being tied so short in the water that it might leap out and in, the greedy *bonito*, thinking it to be a flying-fish, leapeth thereat, and so is deceived. We took also dolphins, which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no less delicate in taste.

Fowls also there be many, both upon land and upon sea; but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the fowl of the fresh rivers these two I noted to be the chief. Whereof the *flamingo* is one, having all red feathers and long red legs like a hern, a neck according to the bill, red, whereof the upper neb hangeth an inch over the nether; and an *egript*[1], which is all white as the swan, with legs like to a hernshaw, and of bigness accordingly; but it hath in her tail feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the ostrich his feather. Of the sea-fowl above all other not common in *England*, I noted the pelican, which is feigned to be the lovingest bird that is; which, rather than her young should want, will spare her heart's blood out of her belly; but for all this lovingness she is very deformed to behold. For she is of colour russet, notwithstanding in *Guinea* I have seen of them as white as a swan, having legs like the same and a body like a hern, with a long neck and a thick long beak; from the nether jaw whereof down to the breast passeth a skin of such a bigness as is able to receive

[1] Egret.

a fish as big as one's thigh, and this her big throat, and long bill, doth make her seem so ugly.

Here I have declared the estate of *Florida* and the commodities therein to this day known; which although it may seem unto some, by the means that the plenty of gold and silver is not so abundant as in other places, that the cost bestowed upon the same will not be able to quit the charges, yet am I of the opinion that, by that which I have seen in other islands of the Indians, where such increase of cattle hath been, that of twelve head of beasts in five-and-twenty years did in the hides of them raise £1,000 profit yearly, that the increase of cattle only would raise profit sufficient for the same. For we may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gains in such short time, what would a greater do in many years? And surely I may this affirm, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattle is not in any point to be compared to this of *Florida*, which all the year long is so green as any time in the summer with us. Which surely is not to be marvelled at, seeing the country standeth in so watery a climate; for once a day, without fail, they have a shower of rain, which, by means of the country itself, which is dry and more fervent hot than ours, doth make all things to flourish therein. And because there is not the thing we all seek for, being rather desirous of present gains, I do therefore affirm the attempt thereof to be more requisite for a prince, who is of power able to go thorough with the same, rather than for any subject.

From thence we departed the 28. of July upon our voyage homewards, having there all things as might be most convenient for our purpose; and took leave of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make as great speed after as they could. Thus, by means of contrary winds oftentimes, we

prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with us, so that we were divers times (or rather the most part) in despair of ever coming home, had not God of His goodness better provided for us than our deserving. In which state of great misery we were provoked to call upon Him by fervent prayer, which moved Him to hear us, so that we had a prosperous wind, which did set us so far shot as to be upon the bank of *Newfoundland* on St. *Bartholomew's* Eve, and we sounded thereupon, finding ground at 130 fathoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and took a great number of fresh codfish, which greatly relieved us; and being very glad thereof the next day we departed, and had lingering little gales for the space of four or five days, at the end of which we saw a couple of French ships, and had of them so much fish as would serve us plentifully for all the rest of the way, the captain paying for the same both gold and silver, to the just value thereof, unto the chief owners of the said ships; but they, not looking for anything at all, were glad in themselves to meet with such good entertainment at sea as they had at our hands. After which departure from them with a good large wind the 20. of September we came to *Padstow*, in *Cornwall*, God be thanked, in safety, with the loss of twenty persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage as also to the whole realm, in bringing home both gold, silver, pearls, and other jewels great store. His name, therefore, be praised for evermore. Amen.

HAWKINS—THIRD VOYAGE.

[NARRATIVE BY HAWKINS HIMSELF.]

The THIRD troublesome VOYAGE *made with the* JESUS *of Lubeck, the* MINION, *and four other ships*[1], *to the parts of* GUINEA *and the* WEST INDIES, *in the years 1567 and 1568, by* MASTER JOHN HAWKINS.

THE ships departed from Plymouth, the second day of October, Anno 1567, and had reasonable weather until the seventh day. At which time, forty leagues north from Cape *Finisterre*, there arose an extreme storm, which continued four days, in such sort, that the fleet was dispersed, and all our great boats lost; and the *Jesus*, our chief ship, in such case as not thought able to serve the voyage. Whereupon in the same storm we set our course homeward, determining to give over the voyage. But the eleventh day of the same month, the wind changed, with fair weather; whereby we were animated to follow our enterprise, and so did, directing our course with the islands of the *Canaries*, where, according to an order before prescribed, all our ships before dispersed met at one of those islands, called *Gomera*, where we took water, and departed from thence the fourth day of November, towards the coast of *Guinea*, and arrived at Cape *Verde*, the 18. of November; where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtain some negroes, where we got but few, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their

[1] Hawkins was captain of the *Jesus*, Robert Barrett master. John Hampton was captain of the *Minion*, John Garret master; Thomas Bolton captain of the *William and John*, James Raunce master. Francis Drake was captain of the *Judith*. The other vessels were the *Angel* and the *Swallow*.

envenomed arrows. And although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawn of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouths shut some ten days before they died, and after their wounds were whole; where I myself had one of the greatest wounds, yet, thanks be to God, escaped.

From thence we passed the time upon the coast of *Guinea*, searching with all diligence the rivers from *Rio Grande* unto *Sierra Leona*, till the 12. of January; in which time we had not gotten together 150 negroes. Yet notwithstanding, the sickness of our men and the late time of the year commanded us away: and thus having nothing wherewith to seek the coast of the *West Indies*, I was with the rest of our company in consultation to go to the coast of the Mine[1], hoping there to have obtained some gold for our wares, and thereby to have defrayed our charge. But even in that present instant, there came to us a negro, sent from a king, oppressed by other kings his neighbours, desiring our aid, with promise that as many negroes as by these wars might be obtained, as well of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure. Whereupon we concluded to give aid, and sent 120 of our men, which the 15. of January assaulted a town of the negroes of our ally's adversaries, which had in it 8,000 inhabitants, being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner. But it was so well defended, that our men prevailed not, but lost six men and forty hurt: so that our men sent forthwith to me for more help. Whereupon, considering that the good success of this enterprise might highly further the commodity of our voyage, I went myself, and with the help of the king of our side, assaulted the town, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses

[1] Elmina.

being covered with dry palm leaves) obtained the town, and put the inhabitants to flight. Where we took 250 persons, men, women, and children; and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to have had our choice. But the negro, in which nation is seldom or never found truth, meant nothing less: for that night he removed his camp and prisoners, so that we were fain to content us with those few which we had gotten ourselves.

Now had we obtained between 400 and 500 negroes, wherewith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seek the coast of the *West Indies*; and there, for our negroes, and other our merchandise, we hoped to obtain whereof to countervail our charges with some gains. Whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, took fuel, and departed the coast of *Guinea* the third of February, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard than before hath been accustomed till the 27. day of March, which day we had sight of an island, called *Dominica*, upon the coast of the *West Indies*, in 14 degrees. From thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffic with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straitly commanded all his governors in those parts by no means to suffer any trade to be made with us. Notwithstanding, we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the isle of *Margarita* unto *Cartagena*, without anything greatly worth the noting, saving at *Capo de la Vela*, in a town called *Rio de la Hacha*, from whence come all the pearls. The Treasurer, who had the charge there, would by no means agree to any trade, or suffer us to take water. He had fortified his town with divers bulwarks in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himself with 100 arquebusiers, so that he thought by famine to have enforced to have put a-land

our negroes. Of which purpose he had not greatly failed, unless we had by force entered the town; which, after we could by no means obtain his favour, we were enforced to do, and so with 200 men brake in upon their bulwarks, and entered the town with the loss only of two men of our parts, and no hurt done to the Spaniards, because after their volley of shot discharged, they all fled. Thus having the town, with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards' desire of negroes, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon the Spaniards resorted to us by night, and bought of us to the number of 200 negroes. In all other places where we traded, the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of us and traded willingly.

At *Cartagena*, the last town we thought to have seen on the coast, we could by no means obtain to deal with any Spaniard, the governor was so strait. And because our trade was so near finished, we thought not good either to adventure any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24. of July, hoping to have escaped the time of their storms which then soon after began to reign, the which they call *Huricanos*. But passing by the west end of *Cuba*, towards the coast of *Florida* there happened to us the 12. day of August an extreme storm which continued by the space of four days, which so beat the *Jesus*, that we cut down all her higher buildings. Her rudder also was sore shaken, and withal [she] was in so extreme a leak that we were rather upon the point to leave her, than to keep her any longer[1]; yet, hoping to bring all to good pass, we sought the coast of *Florida*, where we found no place nor haven for our ships, because of the shallowness of the coast. Thus, being in greater despair,

[1] Apparently intended as an apology for the subsequent abandonment of the *Jesus* in the port of San Juan.

and taken with a new storm which continued other three days, we were enforced to take for our succour the port which serveth the city of *Mexico*, called *St. John de Ullua*, which standeth in 19 degrees[1]. In seeking of which port we took in our way three ships which carried passengers to the number of 100, which passengers we hoped should be a means to us the better to obtain victuals for our money, and a quiet place for the repairing of our fleet.

Shortly after this, the 16. of September, we entered the port of *St. John de Ullua*. And in our entry, the Spaniards thinking us to be the fleet of *Spain*, the chief officers of the country came aboard us. Which, being deceived of their expectation, were greatly dismayed: but immediately when they saw our demand was nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found also in the same port 12 ships which had in them by the report £200,000 in gold and silver; all which, being in my possession, with the King's Island, as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed, I set at liberty, without the taking from them the weight of a groat. Only, because I would not be delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediately to *Mexico*, which was 200 miles from us, to the Presidents and Council there, shewing them of our arrival there by the force of weather, and the necessity of the repair of our ships and victuals, which wants we required as friends to king *Philip* to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidents and Council there should with all convenient speed take order, that at the arrival of the Spanish fleet, which was daily looked for, there might no cause of quarrel rise between us and

[1] Hawkins had on board his vessels nearly a hundred negroes, and there was no place north of the Cape of Florida where he could dispose of them. Hence it may be inferred that his making for San Juan de Ulua was not altogether involuntary.

them, but for the better maintenance of amity, their commandment might be had in that behalf. This message being sent away the 16. day of September at night, being the very day of our arrival, in the next morning, which was the 17. day of the same month, we saw open of the haven 13 great ships. And understanding them to be the fleet of *Spain*, I sent immediately to advertise the General of the fleet of my being there; doing him to understand, that before I would suffer them to enter the port, there should some order of conditions pass between us for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace.

Now it is to be understood that this port is made by a little island of stones not three foot above the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shoot of length any way. This island standeth from the main land two bow-shoots or more. Also it is to be understood that there is not in all this coast any other place for ships to arrive in safety, because the north wind hath there such violence, that unless the ships be very safely moored with their anchors fastened upon this island, there is no remedy for these north winds but death. Also the place of the haven was so little, that of necessity the ships must ride one aboard the other, so that we could not give place to them, nor they to us. And here I began to bewail that which after followed, for, *Now*, said I, *I am in two dangers, and forced to receive the one of them.* That was, either I must have kept out the fleet from entering the port, the which with God's help I was very well able to do, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they never fail to execute, where they may have opportunity to compass it by any means. If I had kept them out, then had there been present shipwreck of all the fleet, which amounted in value to six millions, which was in value of our money

£1,800,000, which I considered I was not able to answer, fearing the Queen's Majesty's indignation in so weighty a matter. Thus with myself revolving the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the jut of the uncertainty than the certainty. The uncertain doubt I account was their treason, which by good policy I hoped might be prevented; and therefore, as choosing the least mischief, I proceeded to conditions.

Now was our first messenger come and returned from the fleet with report of the arrival of a Viceroy; so that he had authority, both in all this province of *Mexico*, otherwise called *Nueva España*, and in the sea. Who sent us word that we should send our conditions, which of his part should, for the better maintenance of amity between the princes, be both favourably granted and faithfully performed; with many fair words, how, passing the coast of the *Indies*, he had understood of our honest behaviour towards the inhabitants where we had to do, as well elsewhere as in the same port; the which I let pass. Thus, following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and licence to sell as much ware as might furnish our wants, and that there might be of either part twelve gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace: and that the island, for our better safety, might be in our own possession, during our abode there, and such ordnance as was planted in the same island, which were eleven pieces of brass: and that no Spaniard might land in the island with any kind of weapon. These conditions at the first he somewhat misliked, chiefly the guard of the island to be in our own keeping. Which if they had had, we had soon known our fare: for with the first north wind they had cut our cables and our ships had gone ashore. But in the end he concluded to our request, bringing the twelve hostages to ten, which with all speed of either part were

received, with a writing from the Viceroy, signed with his hand and sealed with his seal, of all the conditions concluded, and forthwith a trumpet blown, with commandment that none of either part should be mean to violate the peace upon pain of death: and further, it was concluded that the two generals of the fleets should meet, and give faith each to other for the performance of the premises, which was so done. Thus at the end of three days all was concluded and the fleet entered the port, saluting one another as the manner of the sea doth require. Thus, as I said before, Thursday we entered the port, Friday we saw the fleet, and on Monday at night they entered the port. Then we laboured two days placing the English ships by themselves and the Spanish by themselves, the captains of each part and inferior men of their parts promising great amity of all sides. Which even as with all fidelity it was meant on our part, so the Spaniards meant nothing less on their parts; but from the main land had furnished themselves with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and meant the next Thursday, being the 23. of September, at dinner-time to set upon us on all sides.

The same Thursday, in the morning, the treason being at hand, some appearance shewed, as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending of ordnance from the ships to the island where our men warded, passing to and fro of companies of men more than required for their necessary business, and many other ill likelihoods, which caused us to have a vehement suspicion. And therewithal [we] sent to the Viceroy to enquire what was meant by it; which sent immediately strait commandment to unplant all things suspicious, and also sent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet

we being not yet satisfied with this answer, because we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tons which was moored near unto the *Minion*, sent again to the Viceroy the master of the *Jesus*, which had the Spanish tongue, and required to be satisfied if any such thing were or not. The Viceroy now seeing that the treason must be discovered, forthwith stayed our master, blew the trumpet, and of all sides set upon us. Our men which warded ashore being stricken with sudden fear, gave place, fled, and sought to recover succour of the ships. The Spaniards, being before provided for the purpose, landed in all places in multitudes from their ships, which they might easily do without boats, and slew all our men on shore without mercy; a few of them escaped aboard the *Jesus*. The great ship, which had by the estimation 300 men placed in her secretly, immediately fell aboard the *Minion*. But by God's appointment, in the time of the suspicion we had, which was only one half-hour, the *Minion* was made ready to avoid, and so leesing her headfasts, and hauling away by the sternfasts, she was gotten out: thus with God's help she defended the violence of the first brunt of these 300 men. The *Minion* being passed out, they came aboard the *Jesus*, which also with very much ado and the loss of many of our men were defended and kept out. Then were there also two other ships that assaulted the *Jesus* at the same instant, so that she had hard getting loose, but yet with some time we had cut our headfasts and gotten out by the sternfasts. Now when the *Jesus* and the *Minion* were gotten about two ships' length from the Spanish fleet, the fight began so hot on all sides that within one hour the admiral of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunk, their vice-admiral burned, and one other of their principal ships sup-

posed to be sunk, so that the ships were little able to annoy us.

Then is it to be understood, that all the ordnance upon the island was in the Spaniards' hands; which did us so great annoyance, that it cut all the masts and yards of the *Jesus*, in such sort that there was no hope to carry her away. Also it sunk our small ships, whereupon we determined to place the *Jesus* on that side of the *Minion*, that she might abide all the battery from the land, and so be a defence for the *Minion* till night, and then to take such relief of victuals and other necessaries from the *Jesus*, as the time would suffer us, and to leave her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the *Minion* from the shot of the land, suddenly the Spaniards had fired two great ships, which were coming directly with us. And having no means to avoid the fire, it bred among our men a marvellous fear, so that some said, *Let us depart with the* Minion. Other said, *Let us see whether the wind will carry the fire from us.* But to be short, the *Minion's* men which had always their sails in a readiness, thought to make sure work, and so without either the consent of the captain or master cut their sail, so that very hardly I was received into the *Minion.*

The most part of the men that were left alive in the *Jesus*, made shift and followed the *Minion* in a small boat. The rest which the little boat was not able to receive, were enforced to abide the mercy of the Spaniards, which I doubt was very little. So with the *Minion* only and the *Judith*, a small bark of fifty ton, we escaped; which bark the same night forsook us in our great misery. We were now removed with the *Minion* from the Spanish ships two bow-shoots, and there rode all that night. The next morning we recovered an island a mile from the Spaniards, where

there took us a north wind, and being left only with two anchors and two cables (for in this conflict we lost three cables and two anchors) we thought always upon death which ever was present; but God preserved us to a longer time.

The weather waxed reasonable; and the Saturday we set sail, and having a great number of men and little victuals, our hope of life waxed less and less. Some desired to yield to the Spaniards; some rather desired to obtain a place where they might give themselves to the infidels: and some had rather abide with a little pittance the mercy of God at sea. So thus, with many sorrowful hearts, we wandered in an unknown sea by the space of 14 days, till hunger enforced us to seek the land: for hides were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice, and dogs, none escaped that might be gotten, parrots and monkeys, that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they served the turn one dinner. Thus in the end, the 8. day of October, we came to the land in the bottom of the same bay of *Mexico* in 23 degrees and a half, where we hoped to have found inhabitants of the Spaniards, relief of victuals, and place for the repair of our ship, which was so sore beaten with shot from our enemies and bruised with shooting off our own ordnance, that our weary and weak arms were scarce able to defend and keep out water. But all things happened to the contrary; for we found neither people, victual, nor haven of relief, but a place where having fair weather with some peril we might land a boat. Our people, being forced with hunger, desired to be set on land; whereunto I consented. And such as were willing to land, I put them apart; and such as were desirous to go homewards, I put apart; so that they were indifferently parted 100 of one side and 100 of the other side. These 100 men we set

a-land with all diligence, in this little place beforesaid; which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remain of victuals to take the sea.

The next day, having a-land with me 50 of our 100 men that remained, for the speedier preparing of our water aboard, there arose an extreme storm, so that in three days we could by no means repair aboard our ship: the ship also was in such peril that every hour we looked for shipwreck. But yet God again had mercy on us, and sent fair weather; we had aboard our water, and departed the 16. day of October, after which day we had fair and prosperous weather till the 16. day of November, which day, God be praised, we were clear from the coast of the Indies, and out of the channel and gulf of *Bahama*, which is between the *Cape of Florida* and the islands of *Lucayo*. After this growing near to the cold country, our men being oppressed with famine, died continually, and they that were left grew into such weakness that we were scantly able to manage our ship; and the wind being always ill for us to recover England, we determined to go with *Galicia* in *Spain*, with intent there to relieve our company and other extreme wants. And being arrived on the last day of December in a place near unto *Vigo*, called *Ponte Vedra*, our men with excess of fresh meat grew into miserable diseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men suffered to go a-land, yet by access of the Spaniards, our feebleness was known to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seek by all means to betray us; but with all speed possible we departed to *Vigo*, where we had some help of certain English ships and twelve fresh men. Wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and

departing the 20. day of January, 1568[1], arrived in *Mount's Bay*, in *Cornwall*, the 25. of the same month. Praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affairs of this sorrowful voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deaths of the martyrs[2].

JOHN HAWKINS[3].

[1] I.e. 1569, according to modern chronology.

[2] John Foxe (*Acts and Monuments*, 1563).

[3] Two questions arising out of this narrative may be here illustrated by reference to those of Philips and Hortop (see p. 5).

1. Drake's alleged desertion. Neither Philips nor Hortop corroborates this charge. Hortop says that the last orders given by Hawkins to Drake were 'to lay the *Minion* aboard, to take in men and other things needful, and to *go out*.' These orders Drake duly executed. The wind that night, according to Hortop, was 'northerly and wonderful dangerous, insomuch that we feared every hour to be driven on the lee shore.' Hawkins, having got out, anchored again, instead of putting to sea. The consequence was that Drake, who put to sea at once, lost sight of him. Philips merely mentions that the *Judith* lost company of the *Minion* in the night.

2. Hawkins, while keeping nearly a hundred negroes on board, put ninety-six of his men ashore, to fare as they might. This, it was said, was done because the negroes were worth money: and the men were abandoned against their will. Philips admits that many asked to be landed, but represents them as unwilling when the time came; he and others, he says, were compelled to leap from the ship's boat in a rough sea, a mile from land, and swim ashore, two perishing in the attempt. Hortop's account is as follows: 'There was a mutiny among them for want of victuals: and some said that they had rather be on the shore, to shift for themselves, than to starve on ship-board. He asked them, who would go on shore, and who would tarry on ship-board. Those that would go on shore, he willed to go on fore-mast, and those that would tarry, on baft-mast. Four-score and sixteen of us were willing to depart. Our General gave unto every one of us six yards of roan cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came unto us; where, friendly embracing every one of us, he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leave us behind him; he counselled us to serve God, and to love one another, and thus courteously he gave us a sorrowful farewell.' This, it will be seen, substantially confirms the account given by Hawkins, and justifies the course adopted by him in the circumstances.


MARTINUS FROBISHERUS Eꝰ auratus

FROBISHER (b. 1535? d. 1594).

HAWKINS was the pioneer of the Slave Trade, upon which the old Virginian and West Indian colonization rested. Frobisher was the pioneer of a movement of another kind—the long and fruitless quest of a North-West Passage from Europe to the eastern shores of Asia. Yet the voyages of the two captains had something in common beyond the mere fact that both sought and found the shores of America. Both contemplated the colonization of those shores by Englishmen. The idea of English settlements in Florida was present to the minds of those who sailed along its coast with Hawkins: we have seen that in their opinion the country was eminently suitable for cattle-ranching. The project of Frobisher embraced, among other things, the planting of English Colonies on the Pacific shore of the New World. It may be briefly explained how this project originated.

The object of the expedition of Columbus was a Western Passage to China. It resulted in the discovery of the vast continent of America, which bars the way. This barrier, however, might probably be turned, either at the south end or at the north, or at both; and the search for a Western Passage was thus transformed into a search for a South-West Passage and a North-West Passage. The former was discovered by Magellan, a Portuguese in the Spanish service, in 1520. The North-West Passage remained neglected for half a century longer, and was first sought by the English.

The wealth and power derived by Spain and Portugal from their distant enterprises in the course of time excited a strong emulation in England; and attention was fixed on the North-West Passage as the natural means of providing a commercial highway similar to those which the Eastern

route to India and China, round the Cape of Good Hope, provided for Portugal, and the Western route to America, of which the South-West Passage through Magellan's Straits formed a continuation, provided for Spain. The true configuration of the northern coasts of America was unknown. It was believed that the continent tapered to the north, terminating in a cape or foreland, and corresponding approximately with the general outlines of South America at its southern extremity. If this were so it followed that a North-West Passage existed leading directly from the Atlantic to the Pacific, round Labrador, corresponding on the map to the South-West Passage already proved to exist round Patagonia. If such a passage were practicable, it was peculiarly adapted for the use and advantage of England; and its exploration was discussed in this country, just as the exploration of a Western Passage had been discussed in Italy and Spain eighty years before. A tractate written by Sir Humphry Gilbert, some years before the first voyage of Frobisher, and printed shortly before the voyage took place, embodies the current arguments in favour of the existence and practicability of the Passage, and gives reasons why Englishmen should discover it and occupy the coasts to which it presumably conducted. Gilbert not only proposes to attract to England, by way of the Passage, the rich commerce of the East, but to 'inhabit some part of those countries, and settle there such needy people of our country which now trouble the commonwealth and through want here at home are enforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are daily consumed with the gallows.' The intending discoverers carried with them an elaborate set of practical instructions for establishing such colonies. They were to be founded in some 'large territory of apt soil,' in a climate corresponding to that of Southern Spain or Barbary, where timber was abundant, where the air was sweet, and where the grape-vine, olive, orange, and lemon might be expected to yield abundant returns. The author of these instructions doubtless had Florida in mind. One might imagine him to have been thinking of California.

Martin Frobisher, a native of Normanton in Yorkshire,

who had learnt seamanship in London, and had been engaged, like Hawkins, in the African trade, constituted himself the Columbus of this project. For fifteen years he fruitlessly endeavoured to procure the means of executing it. Succeeding at length through the patronage of the Earl of Warwick, in 1576 he started for the North-West, with two little barks of twenty and twenty-five tons burden, and a pinnace of ten tons. In about a month's time he made the eastern coast of Greenland. His little fleet was by this time reduced to one vessel. The pinnace had been lost in a storm; the *Michael*, the larger of the two barks, had deserted him and sailed homewards. Frobisher, in the *Gabriel*, after passing Cape Farewell, sailed north-west with the Greenland current. This course brought him to the ice-bound shores to the north of Hudson's Straits, which lead into Hudson's Bay. These straits Frobisher did not see[1]; but finding an inlet further to the north, up which he sailed for sixty leagues, he conceived this to be the passage of which he was in search—America lying, as he supposed, on his left, and Asia on his right (p. 91). Frobisher hastened home with the news, intending to return in the next year equipped for a longer exploration. He brought with him an Esquimaux captive, and left behind five of his own men, whom the Esquimaux had made prisoners. In the next year Frobisher's men found some articles of apparel supposed to belong to the lost Englishmen, and learned from the natives that three out of the five were still alive. Nothing more was heard of them by their contemporaries. Nearly three hundred years afterwards an American explorer (Captain Charles F. Hall) was informed by the natives of Frobisher's Strait that the white men who had been left in their country had built and rigged a boat, digging up for the purpose the timber intended for the fort, which Frobisher had buried (p. 178), and sailed homewards down the Strait. If this be true, they must have perished in the attempt, for they never reached England.

[1] In his third voyage Frobisher drifted with the ice into Hudson's Straits, which are the 'doubtful and supposed Straits, having always a fair continent upon their starboard side,' of Best's narrative (p. 150).

Besides his Esquimaux captive, Frobisher carried home something which was destined to prove the ruin of his schemes. Those who first landed from the *Gabriel* were directed to bring back some object, no matter what, as an evidence of possession having been duly taken. A fragment of black stone was accordingly carried on board: and this, when produced at Frobisher's return, became an object of general curiosity. It evidently contained some kind of metal, and was pronounced by experts to be iron pyrites, a mineral which frequently yields a small proportion of gold. None could be detected in it by any English assayer: but an Italian goldsmith was at length found who pronounced it to contain gold. Thenceforward the project of Frobisher assumed a different complexion. The 'Cathay Company' was chartered, Elizabeth herself contributing a large part of the required capital, besides lending the *Aid*, a vessel of two hundred tons. Frobisher was appointed High Admiral of England in Cathay, and such other places as might be reached by way of the newly-discovered passage, with the right of exacting a percentage on their exports. All this meant very little: the North-West project, as the event proved, had really been transformed into a mining speculation. In this and the subsequent voyage the pretence of discovery was practically abandoned, and Frobisher's vessels merely brought back to England vast quantities of the mineral substance which had yielded gold in the hands of the Italian assayer. The three ships employed in the second voyage carried home 200 tons. The results obtained were kept secret: but they were so far satisfactory that it was determined to secure at once as large a quantity of the ore as possible, lest the new gold-field should be rifled by other adventurers. The actual yield, it was true, was but small: it was probably anticipated that richer beds would ultimately be found. Frobisher's third fleet consisted of fifteen vessels, organised in three squadrons. On reaching the American coast he encountered stormy weather and floating ice, lost his course and one of his vessels, and drifted into Hudson's Straits, of which he was the involuntary discoverer. Recovering at length, a fortnight later than he had intended, the entrance to the Strait for which he was bound,

he proceeded to fill his ships with the precious mineral. He had little more than a month in which to perform his task. The season was advancing, and there were many vessels to be loaded; possibly much of the mineral which he shipped was selected and quarried without due examination. However this may be, the produce of the 1,700 tons of pyrites which his third expedition brought back did not suffice to defray its expenses of working. When this fact became known, Frobisher and his schemes fell into utter discredit. The voyage which he had contemplated making in the following year (pp. 135, 177, 178) never took place. The Cathay Company ceased to exist. Frobisher's Strait itself passed out of mind so completely that its place on the map was forgotten, and geographers bestowed the name on a frozen inlet on the eastern coast of Greenland. Davis, a few years afterwards, rediscovered it, and named it Lumley's Inlet; but the name of the first discoverer has been recently restored. Frobisher was incidentally the pioneer of Arctic exploration; he made known the difficulties which beset it, difficulties which were first grappled with by Davis and Hudson.

Frobisher's northern voyages, disastrous as they must have proved to the adventurers who supported him, were the foundation of his own fortunes. Taken into the Queen's service, he served under Sir William Winter in the naval expedition against the Spanish auxiliaries of the Irish rebels, Fitzmaurice and Desmond (1579), and filled the important post of Vice-admiral in Drake's expedition of 1585, the story of which concludes the present volume. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in which Frobisher played a prominent part, he continued to serve his country with little intermission until his death, which resulted from a gunshot wound received at the storming of Crozon, in Brittany (1594). The wound was unskilfully dressed, and Frobisher died of its effects at Plymouth a fortnight afterwards.

FROBISHER—FIRST VOYAGE.

[COMMUNICATED BY FROBISHER TO GEORGE BEST.][1]

WHICH thing being well considered, and familiarly known to our General, Captain *Frobisher*, as well for that he is thoroughly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere and all other skills appertaining to the art of navigation, as also for the confirmation he hath of the same by many years' experience both by sea and land; and being persuaded of a new and nearer passage to *Cataya* than by *Capo de Buona Sperança*, which the Portugals yearly use, he began first with himself to devise, and then with his friends to confer, and laid a plain plot unto them that that voyage was not only possible by the North-west, but also, he could prove, easy to be performed. And further, he determined and resolved with himself to go make full proof thereof, and to accomplish or bring true certificate of the truth, or else never to return again; knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet undone, whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to perform this notable voyage, whereof he had conceived in his mind a great hope by sundry sure reasons and secret intelligence, which here, for sundry causes, I leave untouched; yet he wanted altogether means

[1] Further details of this voyage may be gathered from the log of Christopher Hall, master of the *Gabriel*, printed in Hakluyt. The present narrative, prefixed to Best's accounts of the Second and Third Voyages, was preceded by a treatise intended to prove all parts of the earth, even the poles, equally habitable.

and ability to set forward and perform the same. Long time he conferred with his private friends of these secrets, and made also many offers for the performing of the same in effect unto sundry merchants of our country, above fifteen years before he attempted the same, as by good witness shall well appear; albeit some evil willers, which challenge to themselves the fruits of other men's labours, have greatly injured him in the reports of the same, saying that they have been the first authors of that action, and that they have learned him the way, which themselves as yet have never gone. But perceiving that hardly he was hearkened unto of the merchants, which never regard virtue without sure, certain, and present gains, he repaired to the Court, from whence, as from the fountain of our common wealth, all good causes have their chief increase and maintenance, and there laid open to many great estates and learned men the plot and sum of his device. And amongst many honourable minds which favoured his honest and commendable enterprise, he was specially bound and beholding to the Right Honourable *Ambrose Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, whose favourable mind and good disposition hath always been ready to countenance and advance all honest actions, with the authors and executers of the same. And so by means of my lord his honourable countenance he received some comfort of his cause, and by little and little, with no small expense and pain, brought his cause to some perfection, and had drawn together so many adventurers and such sums of money as might well defray a reasonable charge to furnish himself to sea withal.

He prepared two small barks of twenty and five-and-twenty ton a-piece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furnished with the foresaid two barks, and one small pinnace of

ten ton burden, having therein victuals and other necessaries for twelve months' provision, he departed upon the said voyage from *Blackwall*, the 15. of June[1], *anno Domini* 1576.

One of the barks, wherein he went, was named the *Gabriel*, and the other the *Michael*; and, sailing north-west from England, upon the 11. of July he had sight of an high and ragged land, which he judged to be *Frisland*[2], whereof some authors have made mention; but durst not approach the same by reason of the great store of ice that lay alongst the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a little. Not far from thence he lost company of his small pinnace, which by means of the great storm he supposed to be swallowed up of the sea; wherein he lost only four men. Also the other bark, named the *Michael*, mistrusting the matter, conveyed themselves privily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was cast away.

The worthy captain, notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his topmast blown overboard with extreme foul weather, continued his course towards the north-west, knowing that the sea at length must needs have an ending, and that some land should have a beginning that way; and determined, therefore, at the least to bring true proof what land and sea the same might be so far to the north-westwards, beyond any that man hath heretofore discovered. And

[1] The date is incorrect. Hall quitted his moorings at Ratcliffe on the 7th, and left Deptford on the 8th. In passing the Royal Palace of Greenwich, says Hall, 'we shot off our ordnance, and made the best show we could. Her Majesty, beholding the same, commended it, and bade us farewell, with shaking her hand at us out of the window.' Gravesend was passed on the 12th.

[2] The land was Greenland. Friesland was the name given to the Faroe Islands in the voyage of the brothers Zeni. Hall saw the rocky spires of the coast 'rising like pinnacles of steeples' in the afternoon sun.

the 20. of July he had sight of an high land, which he called *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*[1], after her Majesty's name. And sailing more northerly alongst that coast, he descried another foreland[2], with a great gut, bay, or passage, dividing as it were two main lands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceeding great ice all this coast along, and coveting still to continue his course to the northwards, was always by contrary wind detained overthwart these straits, and could not get beyond. Within few days after, he perceived the ice to be well consumed and gone, either there engulfed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the southwards of the same straits, or else conveyed some other way; wherefore he determined to make proof of this place, to see how far that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himself thorough the same into some open sea on the back side, whereof he conceived no small hope; and so entered the same the one and twentieth of July, and passed above fifty leagues therein, as he reported, having upon either hand a great main or continent. And that land upon his right hand as he sailed westward he judged to be the continent of *Asia*, and there to be divided from the firm of *America*, which lieth upon the left hand over against the same.

This place he named after his name, *Frobisher's Straits*[3], like as *Magellanus* at the south-west end of the world, having discovered the passage to the South Sea, where *America* is divided from the continent of that land, which lieth under the South Pole, and called the same straits, *Magellan's* Straits.

After he had passed sixty leagues into this foresaid

[1] The N.E. corner of the island to the N. of Resolution Island.
[2] The North Foreland, at the S.E. corner of Hall's Island.
[3] Afterwards called Frobisher Bay.

strait, he went ashore, and found signs where fire had been made. He saw mighty deer, that seemed to be mankind, which ran at him; and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was fain to use defence and policy to save his life. In this place he saw and perceived sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither. And being ashore upon the top of a hill, he perceived a number of small things fleeting in the sea afar off, which he supposed to be porpoises, or seals, or some kind of strange fish; but coming nearer, he discovered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend down from the hill, certain of those people had almost cut off his boat from him, having stolen secretly behind the rocks for that purpose; where he speedily hasted to his boat, and bent himself to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger, and saved his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboard his ship, and brought him salmon and raw flesh and fish, and greedily devoured the same before our men's faces. And to show their agility, they tried many masteries upon the ropes of the ship after our mariners' fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their arms, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of seals' and bears' skins, and such like, with our men, and received bells, looking-glasses, and other toys, in recompense thereof again. After great courtesy, and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captain's direction, began more easily to trust them; and five of our men going ashore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were never since heard of to this day again; so that the captain being destitute of boat, bark, and all company, had scarcely sufficient number to conduct back his bark again. He could now neither convey himself ashore to rescue his men, if he had been able,

for want of a boat; and again the subtle traitors were so wary, as they would after that never come within our men's danger. The captain, notwithstanding, desirous of bringing some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them; and, therefore, to deceive the deceivers, he wrought a pretty policy. For knowing well how they greatly delighted in our toys, and specially in bells, he rang a pretty loud bell, making signs that he would give him the same who would come and fetch it. And because they would not come within his danger for fear, he flung one bell unto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost. And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came near the ship side to receive the bell. Which when he thought to take at the captain's hand, he was thereby taken himself; for the captain, being readily provided, let the bell fall, and caught the man fast, and plucked him with main force, boat and all, into his bark out of the sea. Whereupon, when he found himself in captivity, for very choler and disdain he bit his tongue in twain within his mouth; notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but lived until he came in *England*, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea.

Now with this new prey, which was a sufficient witness of the captain's far and tedious travel towards the unknown parts of the world, as did well appear by this strange infidel, whose like was never seen, read, nor heard of before, and whose language was neither known nor understood of any, the said Captain *Frobisher* returned homeward, and arrived in *England* in *Harwich* the second of October following, and thence came to *London*, 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially

famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to *Cataya.*

And it is especially to be remembered that at their first arrival in those parts there lay so great store of ice all the coast along, so thick together, that hardly his boat could pass unto the shore. At length, after divers attempts, he commanded his company, if by any possible means they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoever thing they could first find, whether it were living or dead, stock or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he took in behalf of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, thinking that thereby he might justify the having and enjoying of the same things that grew in these unknown parts. Some of his company brought flowers, some green grass; and one brought a piece of black stone, much like to a sea coal in colour, which by the weight seemed to be some kind of metal or mineral. This was a thing of no account in the judgment of the captain at first sight; and yet for novelty it was kept, in respect of the place from whence it came. After his arrival in *London*, being demanded of sundry his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that country, he had nothing left to present them withal but a piece of this black stone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman, one of the adventurers' wives, to have a piece thereof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a little vinegar, it glistered with a bright marquesite[1] of gold. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certain gold-finers in London to make assay thereof, who gave out that it held gold, and that very richly for the quantity[2]. After-

[1] Arab. *mârkashîta* (=pyrites).

[2] The English assayers all pronounced the stone worthless. An Italian, Giovanni Baptista Agnello, reported it to contain gold. On

wards the same gold-finers promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselves to adventure for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter sought secretly to have a lease at Her Majesty's hands of those places, whereby to enjoy the mass of so great a public profit unto their own private gains.

In conclusion, the hope of more of the same gold ore to be found kindled a greater opinion in the hearts of many to advance the voyage again. Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage against the year following, and the captain more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this gold ore than for the searching any further discovery of the passage. And being well accompanied with divers resolute and forward gentlemen, her Majesty then lying at the Right Honourable the Lord of *Warwick's* house, in *Essex*, he came to take his leave; and kissing her Highness' hands, with gracious countenance and comfortable words departed toward his charge.

being questioned as to how it was that he alone was able to produce gold from the stone, he is said to have replied, *Bisogna sapere adular la natura* (nature requires coaxing). Agnello's assay necessarily involved the addition of other substances for the purpose of separating the gold; and it has been suggested that the gold produced by him was itself added during this process. There is no good reason for thinking so. Pyrites often contains a minute proportion of gold. Admitting the possibility of trickery in the case of the small specimen submitted to Agnello, it is incredible that the fraud should have been successfully repeated when the 200 tons of mineral brought back by the second expedition came to be tested. The mineral undoubtedly contained gold, but not enough to pay for the carriage and working.

FROBISHER—SECOND VOYAGE.

[NARRATIVE BY GEORGE BEST, FROBISHER'S LIEUTENANT.]

A True Report of such things as happened in the SECOND VOYAGE *of* CAPTAIN FROBISHER, *pretended for the discovery of a new passage to* CATAYA, CHINA, *and the* EAST INDIA, *by the* NORTH-WEST, *Anno Domini 1577.*

BEING furnished with one tall ship of Her Majesty's, named the *Aid*, of 200 ton, and two other small barks, the one named the *Gabriel*, the other the *Michael*[1], about 30 ton apiece, being fitly appointed with men, munitions, victuals, and all things necessary for the voyage, the said Captain *Frobisher*, with the rest of his company, came aboard his ships riding at *Blackwall*, intending (with God's help) to take the first wind and tide serving him, the 25. day of May, in the year of our Lord God 1577.

On Whit Sunday, being the 26. of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anchor at *Blackwall*, and fell that tide down to *Gravesend*, where we remained until Monday at night. On Monday morning, the 27. of May, aboard the *Aid*, we received all the communion by the minister of *Gravesend*, and prepared us as good Christians towards God, and resolute men, for all fortunes; and towards night we departed to *Tilbury Hope*[2].

Tuesday, the 28. of May, about nine of the clock at night, we arrived at *Harwich*, in Essex, and there stayed for the taking in of certain victuals until Friday, being

[1] Edward Fenton, a gentleman in the service of the Earl of Warwick, commanded the *Gabriel*; Gilbert York, a gentleman in the service of the High Admiral, the *Michael*.

[2] Hope = road, or anchoring place.

the 30. of May; during which time came letters from the Lords of the Council, straitly commanding our General not to exceed his complement and number appointed him, which was 120 persons. Whereupon he discharged many proper men, which with unwilling minds departed. He also dismissed all his condemned men [1], which he thought for some purposes very needful for the voyage; and towards night, upon Friday, the one and thirtieth of May, we set sail and put to the seas again. And sailing northward along the east coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, the 7. day of June we arrived in *Saint Magnus'* Sound, in *Orkney* Islands, called in Latin *Orcades*, and came to anchor on the south side of the bay; and this place is reckoned from *Blackwall*, where we set sail first, [cipher] leagues [2].

Here, our company going on land, the inhabitants of these islands began to flee as from the enemy. Whereupon the lieutenant willed every man to stay together, and went himself into their houses to declare what we were, and the cause of our coming thither. Which being understood, after their poor manner they friendly entreated us, and brought us for our money such things as they had. And here our gold-finers found a mine of silver.

Orkney is the principal of the Isles of the *Orcades*, and standeth in the latitude of fifty-nine degrees and a half. The country is much subject to cold, answerable for such a climate, and yet yieldeth some fruits, and sufficient maintenance for the people contented so poorly to live. There is plenty enough of poultry, store of eggs, fish, and fowl. For their bread they have oaten cakes, and their drink is ewes' milk, and in some parts

[1] Six condemned criminals, who were to be landed in Greenland with a supply of arms and provisions.

[2] The distances and latitudes were expressed in cipher in the original MS., so as to keep the course secret.

ale. Their houses are but poor without and sluttish enough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable. For their fire they burn heath and turf, the country in most parts being void of wood. They have great want of leather, and desire our old shoes, apparel, and old ropes, before money, for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coin. The chief town is called *Kyrway*. In this island hath been sometime an abbey or a religious house, called *Saint Magnus*, being on the west side of the isle, whereof this sound beareth name through which we passed. Their governor or chief lord is called the Lord *Robert Steward*, who at our being there, as we understood, was in durance at *Edinburgh*, by the Regent's commandment of *Scotland*.

After we had provided us here of matter sufficient for our voyage, the 8. of June we set sail again, and, passing through *Saint Magnus*' Sound, having a merry wind by night, came clear and lost sight of all the land; and keeping our course west-north-west by the space of two days, the wind shifted upon us, so that we lay in traverse on the seas, with contrary winds, making good, as near as we could, our course to the westward, and sometime to the northward, as the wind shifted. And hereabout we met with three sail of English fishermen from *Iceland*, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters unto our friends in *England*. We traversed these seas by the space of 26 days without sight of any land, and met with much drift-wood and whole bodies of trees. We saw many monstrous fishes and strange fowls which seemed to live only by the sea, being there so far distant from any land. At length God favoured us with more prosperous winds: and after we had sailed four days with good wind in the poop, the 4. of July, the *Michael*, being foremost ahead, shot off a piece

of ordnance, and struck all her sails, supposing that they descried land, which, by reason of the thick mists, they could not make perfect. Howbeit, as well our account[1], as also the great alteration of the water, which became more black and smooth, did plainly declare we were not far off the coast. Our General sent his master[2] aboard the *Michael* (who had been with him the year before) to bear in with the place to make proof thereof; who descried not the land perfect, but saw sundry huge islands of ice, which we deemed to be not past twelve leagues from the shore. About ten of the clock at night, being the fourth of July, the weather being more clear, we made the land perfect, and knew it to be *Frisland*[3]. And the height being taken here, we found ourselves to be in the latitude of sixty degrees and a half, and were fallen with the southermost part of this land. Between *Orkney* and *Frisland* are reckoned [cipher] leagues.

This *Frisland* showeth a ragged and high land, having the mountains almost covered over with snow, alongst the coast full of drift-ice, and seemeth almost inaccessible; and is thought to be an island in bigness not inferior to England, and is called by some authors West *Frisland*, I think because it lieth more west than any part of Europe. It extendeth in latitude to the northward very far, as seemed to us, and appeareth by a description set out by two brethren, Venetians, *Nicholaus* and *Antonius Zeni*, who, being driven off from *Ireland* with a violent tempest, made shipwreck here, and were the first known Christians that discovered this land, about 200 years sithence; and they have in their sea-cards set out every part thereof, and described the condition of the inhabitants, declaring them to be as civil and religious people as we. And for so much of

[1] Reckoning. [2] Christopher Hall. [3] Greenland.

this land as we have sailed alongst, comparing their card with the coast, we find it very agreeable. This coast seemeth to have good fishing: for we, lying becalmed, let fall a hook without any bait, and presently caught a great fish called a halibut, which served the whole company for a day's meat, and is dangerous meat for surfeiting. And sounding about five leagues off from the shore, our lead brought up in the tallow a kind of coral, almost white, and small stones as bright as crystal; and it is not to be doubted that this land may be found very rich and beneficial if it were throughly discovered, although we saw no creature there but little birds. It is a marvellous thing to behold of what great bigness and depth some islands of ice be here; some seventy, some eighty fathom under water, besides that which is above, seeming islands more than half a mile in circuit. All these ice are in taste fresh, and seem to be bred in the sounds thereabouts, or in some land near the Pole, and with the wind and tides are driven alongst the coasts. We found none of these islands of ice salt in taste, whereby it appeareth that they were not congealed of the ocean sea-water, which is always salt, but of some standing or little-moving lakes, or great fresh waters near the shore, caused either by melted snow from tops of mountains, or by continual access of fresh rivers from the land; and intermingling with the sea-water, bearing yet the dominion, by the force of extreme frost, may cause some part of salt water to freeze so with it, and so seem a little brackish; but otherwise the main sea freezeth not, and therefore there is no *Mare Glaciale*, or Frozen Sea, as the opinion hitherto hath been. Our General proved landing here twice, but by the sudden fall of mists, whereunto this coast is much subject, he was like to lose sight of his ships; and being greatly endangered with the driving ice alongst

the coast, was forced aboard, and fain to surcease his pretence till a better opportunity might serve. And having spent four days and nights sailing alongst this land, finding the coast subject to such bitter cold and continual mists, he determined to spend no more time therein, but to bear out his course towards the straits called *Frobisher's* Straits, after the General's name; who being the first that ever passed beyond fifty-eight degrees to the northwards, for anything that hath been yet known of certainty, of Newfoundland, otherwise called the continent or firm land of *America*, discovered the said straits this last year 1576.

Between *Frisland* and the straits we had one great storm, wherein the *Michael* was somewhat in danger, having her steerage broken, and her topmasts blown overboard; and being not past fifty leagues short of the straits by our account, we struck sail and lay a-hull, fearing the continuance of the storm, the wind being at the north-east; and having lost company of the barks in that flaw of wind, we happily met again the 17. day of July, having the evening before seen divers islands of fleeting ice, which gave an argument that we were not far from land. Our General, in the morning, from the maintop, the weather being reasonable clear, descried land; but to be better assured, he sent the two barks two contrary courses, whereby they might descry either the South or North Foreland, the *Aid* lying off and on at sea, with a small sail, by an island of ice, which was the mark for us to meet together again. And about noon, the weather being more clear, we made the North Foreland perfect, which otherwise is called *Hall's* Island[1], and also the small island bearing the name of the said *Hall*, whence the ore was taken up which was brought into England this last year 1576, the said

[1] Now Cape Enderby.

Hall being present at the finding and taking up thereof, who was then master in the *Gabriel* with Captain *Frobisher.* At our arrival here, all the seas about this coast were so covered over with huge quantity of great ice, that we thought these places might only deserve the name of *Mare Glaciale,* and be called the *Icy Sea.*

This North Foreland is thought to be divided from the continent of the Northerland by a little sound called *Hall's* Sound, which maketh it an island, and is thought little less than the Isle of *Wight,* and is the first entrance of the straits upon the norther side, and standeth in the latitude of sixty-two degrees and fifty minutes, and is reckoned from *Frisland* [cipher] leagues. God having blessed us with so happy a land-fall, we bare into the straits, which run in next hand, and somewhat further up to the northward, and came as near the shore as we might for the ice; and upon the 18. day of July our General, taking the gold-finers with him, attempted to go on shore with a small rowing pinnace, upon the small island where the ore was taken up, to prove whether there were any store thereof to be found. But he could not get in all that island a piece so big as a walnut, where the first was found. But our men which sought the other islands thereabouts found them all to have good store of the ore: whereupon our General with these good tidings returned aboard about ten of the clock at night, and was joyfully welcomed of the company with a volley of shot. He brought eggs, fowls, and a young seal aboard, which the company had killed ashore; and having found upon those islands gins set to catch fowl, and sticks new cut, with other things, he well perceived that not long before some of the country people had resorted thither.

Having therefore found those tokens of the people's access in those parts, and being in his first voyage well

acquainted with their subtle and cruel disposition, he provided well for his better safety; and on Friday, the 19. of July, in the morning early, with his best company of gentlemen and soldiers, to the number of forty persons, went on shore, as well to discover the inland and habitation of the people, as also to find out some fit harborough for our ships. And passing towards the shore, with no small difficulty by reason of the abundance of ice, which lay along the coast so thick together that hardly any passage through them might be discovered, we arrived at length upon the main of *Hall's* greater island, and found there also, as well as in the other small islands, good store of the ore. And leaving his boats here with sufficient guard, we passed up into the country about two English miles, and recovered the top of a high hill; on the top whereof our men made a column or cross of stones heaped up of a good height together in good sort, and solemnly sounded a trumpet, and said certain prayers kneeling about the ensign, and honoured the place by the name of *Mount Warwick*, in remembrance of the Right Honourable the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, whose noble mind and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gave great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retired our companies, not seeing anything here worth further discovery, the country seeming barren and full of ragged mountains, and in most parts covered with snow.

And thus marching towards our boats, we espied certain of the country people on the top of *Mount Warwick* with a flag, wafting us back again and making great noise, with cries like the mowing of bulls, seeming greatly desirous of conference with us. Whereupon the General, being therewith better acquainted, answered them again with the like cries; whereat, and with the

noise of our trumpets, they seemed greatly to rejoice, skipping, laughing, and dancing for joy. And hereupon we made signs unto them, holding up two fingers, commanding two of our men to go apart from our companies, whereby they might do the like. So that forthwith two of our men and two of theirs met together a good space from company, neither party having their weapons about them. Our men gave them pins and points and such trifles as they had. And they likewise bestowed on our men two bowcases and such things as they had. They earnestly desired our men to go up into their country, and our men offered them like kindness aboard our ships; but neither part, as it seemed, admitted or trusted the other's courtesy. Their manner of traffic is thus; they do use to lay down of their merchandise upon the ground, so much as they mean to part withal, and so looking that the other party with whom they make trade should do the like, they themselves do depart. And then, if they do like of their mart, they come again, and take in exchange the other's merchandise; otherwise, if they like not, they take their own and depart. The day being thus well near spent, in haste we retired our companies into our boats again, minding forthwith to search along the coast for some harborough fit for our ships. For the present necessity thereof was much, considering that all this while they lay off and on between the two lands, being continually subject as well to great danger of fleeting ice, which environed them, as to the sudden flaws which the coast seemeth much subject unto. But when the people perceived our departure, with great tokens of affection they earnestly called us back again, following us almost to our boats. Whereupon our General, taking his master with him, who was best acquainted with their manners, went apart unto two of them, meaning, if they

could lay sure hold upon them, forcibly to bring them aboard, with intent to bestow certain toys and apparel upon the one, and so to dismiss him with all arguments of courtesy, and retain the other for an interpreter. The General and his master being met with their two companions together, after they had exchanged certain things the one with the other, one of the savages, for lack of better merchandise, cut off the tail of his coat, which is a chief ornament among them, and gave it unto our General for a present. But he presently, upon a watchword given with his master, suddenly laid hold upon the two savages. But the ground under foot being slippery with the snow on the side of the hill, their handfast failed, and their prey escaping ran away and lightly recovered their bow and arrows, which they had hid not far from them behind the rocks. And being only two savages in sight, they so fiercely, desperately, and with such fury assaulted and pursued our General and his master, being altogether unarmed, and not mistrusting their subtilty, that they chased them to their boats, and hurt the General in the buttock with an arrow; who the rather speedily fled back, because they suspected a greater number behind the rocks. Our soldiers, which were commanded before to keep their boats, perceiving the danger, and hearing our men calling for shot, came speedily to rescue, thinking there had been a greater number. But when the savages heard the shot of one of our calivers (and yet having first bestowed their arrows) they ran away, our men speedily following them. But a servant of my Lord of *Warwick*, called *Nicholàs Conyer*, a good footman, and uncumbered with any furniture[1], having only a dagger at his back, overtook one of them; and being a Cornish man and a good wrastler, shewed his companion such

[1] Armour.

a Cornish trick, that he made his sides ache against the ground for a month after. And so being stayed, he was taken alive and brought away, but the other escaped. Thus with their strange and new prey our men repaired to their boats, and passed from the main to a small island of a mile compass, where they resolved to tarry all night; for even now a sudden storm was grown so great at sea, that by no means they could recover their ships. And here every man refreshed himself with a small portion of victuals, which was laid into the boats for their dinners, having neither eat nor drunk all the day before. But because they knew not how long the storm might last, nor how far off the ships might be put to sea, nor whether they should ever recover them again or not, they made great spare of their victuals, as it greatly behoved them. For they knew full well that the best cheer the country could yield them was rocks and stones, a hard food to live withal, and the people more ready to eat them than to give them wherewithal to eat. And thus, keeping very good watch and ward, they lay there all night upon hard cliffs of snow and ice, both wet, cold, and comfortless. These things thus happening with the company on land, the danger of the ships at sea was no less perilous. For within one hour after the General's departing in the morning, by negligence of the cook in over-heating, and the workman in making the chimney, the *Aid* was set on fire, and had been the confusion of the whole if, by chance a boy espying it, it had not been speedily with great labour and God's help well extinguished.

This day also were divers storms and flaws, and by nine of the clock at night the storm was grown so great, and continued such until the morning, that it put our ships at sea in no small peril. For having mountains of fleeting ice on every side, we went roomer for one, and luffed for another; some scraped us, and some happily

escaped us; that the least of 1000 were as dangerous to strike as any rock, and able to have split asunder the strongest ship of the world. We had a scope of clear without ice, as God would, wherein we turned, being otherwise compassed on every side about. But so much was the wind, and so little was our sea-room, that being able to bear only our forecourse[1] we cast so oft about, that we made fourteen boards[2] in eight glasses running[3], being but four hours. But God being our best steersman, and by the industry of *Charles Jackman* and *Andrew Dyer*, the master's mates, both very expert mariners, and *Richard Cox*, the master gunner, with other very careful sailors, then within board, and also by the help of the clear nights, which are without darkness, we did happily avoid those present dangers. Whereat since we have more marvelled than in the present danger feared; for that every man within board, both better and worse, had enough to do with his hands to haul ropes, and with his eyes to look out for danger. But the next morning, being the 20. of July, as God would, the storm ceased; and the General, espying the ships, with his new captive and whole company came happily aboard, and reported what had passed ashore. Whereupon altogether upon our knees we gave God humble and hearty thanks for that it had pleased Him from so speedy peril to send us such speedy deliverance. And so from this northern shore we struck over towards the southerland.

The 21. of July, we discovered a bay which ran into the land, that seemed a likely harborough for our ships. Wherefore our General rowed thither with his boats, to make proof thereof, and with his gold-finers to search for ore, having never assayed anything on the south shore as yet. And the first small island, which we landed

[1] Foresail. [2] Tacks. [3] Hour-glasses (running half-an-hour).

upon, here all the sands and clifts did so glister and had so bright a marquesite, that it seemed all to be gold; but upon trial made, it proved no better than black-lead, and verified the proverb, *All is not gold that glistereth.*

Upon the 22. of July we bare into the said sound, and came to anchor a reasonable breadth off the shore; where, thinking ourselves in good security, we were greatly endangered with a piece of drift ice, which the ebb brought forth of the sounds and came thwart us ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and soldiers within board taking great pains at this pinch at the capstan, overcame the most danger thereof. And yet for all that might be done, it struck on our stern such a blow, that we feared lest it had stricken away our rudder; and being forced to cut our cable in the hawse, we were fain to set our foresail to run further up within. And if our steerage had not been stronger than in the present time we feared, we had run the ship upon the rocks, having a very narrow channel to turn in; but, as God would, all came well to pass. And this was named *Jackman's* Sound, after the name of the master's mate, who had first liking unto the place.

Upon a small island within this sound, called *Smith's Island* (because he first set up his forge there), was found a mine of silver, but was not won out of the rocks without great labour. Here our gold-finers made say[1] of such ore as they found upon the northerland, and found four sorts thereof to hold gold in good quantity. Upon another small island here was also found a great dead fish[2], which as it should seem, had been embayed with ice, and was in proportion round like to a porpoise, being about twelve foot long, and in bigness answerable, having a horn of two yards long growing out of the snout or

[1] Assay. [2] A narwhal.

nostrils. This horn is wreathed and straight, like in fashion to a taper made of wax, and may truly be thought to be the sea-unicorn. This horn is to be seen and reserved as a jewel by the Queen's Majesty's commandment, in her wardrobe of robes.

Tuesday, the 23. of July, our General with his best company of gentlemen, soldiers and sailors, to the number of seventy persons in all, marched with ensign displayed, upon the continent of the southerland, the supposed continent of *America*. Where, commanding a trumpet to sound a call for every man to repair to the ensign, he declared to the whole company how much the cause imported for the service of her Majesty, our country, our credits, and the safety of our own lives; and therefore required every man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by those he should assign. And he appointed for leaders Captain *Fenton*, Captain *York*, and his Lieutenant *George Best*. Which done, we cast ourselves into a ring, and altogether upon our knees, gave God humble thanks for that it had pleased him of his great goodness to preserve us from such imminent dangers; beseeching likewise the assistance of his Holy Spirit, so to deliver us in safety into our country, whereby the light and truth of these secrets being known, it might redound to the more honour of his holy name, and consequently to the advancement of our common wealth. And so, in as good sort as the place suffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountains, which were no less painful in climbing than dangerous in descending, by reason of their steepness and ice. And having passed about five miles, by such unwieldy ways, we returned unto our ships without sight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here divers of the gentlemen desired our General to suffer them, to the number of twenty or

thirty persons, to march up thirty or forty leagues in the country, to the end they might discover the inland, and do some acceptable service for their country. But he, not contented with the matter he sought for, and well considering the short time he had in hand, and the greedy desire our country hath to a present savour and return of gain, bent his whole endeavour only to find a mine to freight his ships, and to leave the rest by God's help hereafter to be well accomplished. And therefore the 26. of July he departed over to the north-land, with the two barks, leaving the *Aid* riding in *Jackman's* Sound, and meant, after he had found convenient harbour, and freight there for his ships, to discover further for the passage. The barks came the same night to anchor in a sound upon the norther-land, where the tides did run so swift, and the place was so subject to indrafts of ice, that by reason thereof they were greatly endangered; and having found a very rich mine, as they supposed, and got almost twenty ton of ore together, upon the 28. of July the ice came driving into the sound where the barks rode, in such sort, that they were therewith greatly distressed. And the *Gabriel*, riding astern the *Michael*, had her cable galled asunder in the hawse with a piece of driving ice, and lost another anchor; and having but one cable and anchor left, (for she had lost two before,) and the ice still driving upon her, she was by God's help well fenced from the danger of the rest, by one great island of ice, which came aground hard ahead of her. Which if it had not so chanced, I think surely she had been cast upon the rocks with the ice. The *Michael* moored anchor upon this great ice, and rode under the lee thereof: but about midnight, by the weight of itself, and the setting of the tides, the ice brake within half the bark's length, and made unto the

company within board a sudden and fearful noise. The next flood, toward the morning, we weighed anchor, and went further up the straits; and leaving our ore behind us which we had digged, for haste, left the place, by the name of *Beare's* Sound, after the master's name of the *Michael*, and named the island *Leicester's* Island. In one of the small islands here we found a tomb, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together. And our savage captive being with us, and being demanded by signs whether his countrymen had not slain this man and eat his flesh so from the bones, he made signs to the contrary, and that he was slain with wolves and wild beasts. Here also was found hid under stones good store of fish, and sundry other things of the inhabitants; as sleds, bridles, kettles of fishskins, knives of bone, and such other like. And our savage declared unto us the use of all those things. And taking in his hand one of those country bridles, he caught one of our dogs and hampered him handsomely therein, as we do our horses, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dog to draw in a sled as we do horses in a coach, setting himself thereupon like a guide: so that we might see they use dogs for that purpose that we do our horses. And we found since by experience, that the lesser sort of dogs they feed fat, and keep them as domestical cattle in their tents for their eating, and the greater sort serve for the use of drawing their sleds.

The 29. of July, about five leagues from *Beare's* Sound, we discovered a bay which, being fenced on each side with small islands lying off the main, which break the force of the tides, and make the place free from any indrafts of ice, did prove a fit harborough for our ships; where we came to anchor under a small island, which now together with the sound is called by the name of that right Honourable and virtuous lady,

Anne Countess of *Warwick.* And this is the furthest place that this year we have entered up within the straits, and is reckoned from the cape of the *Queen's Foreland*, which is the entrance of the straits, not above thirty leagues. Upon this island was found good store of the ore, which in the washing held gold to our thinking plainly to be seen: whereupon it was thought best rather to load here, where there was store and indifferent good, than to seek further for better, and spend time with jeopardy. And therefore our General setting the miners to work, and shewing first a good precedent of a painful labourer and a good captain in himself, gave good examples for others to follow him: whereupon every man, both better and worse, with their best endeavours willingly laid to their helping hands. And the next day, being the 30. of July, the *Michael* was sent over to *Jackman's* Sound, for the *Aid* and the whole company to come thither. Upon the main-land, over against the Countess's Island, we discovered and beheld to our great marvel the poor caves and houses of those country people, which serve them, as it should seem, for their winter dwellings, and are made two fathom underground, in compass round, like to an oven, being joined fast one by another, having holes like to a fox or coney bury, to keep and come together. They undertrenched these places with gutters, so that the water, falling from the hills above them, may slide away without their annoyance: and are seated commonly in the foot of a hill, to shield them better from the cold winds, having their door and entrance ever open towards the south. From the ground upwards they build with whales' bones, for lack of timber, which bending one over another, are handsomely compacted in the top together, and are covered over with seals' skins, which, instead of tiles, fence them from the rain.

In which house they have only one room, having the one half of the floor raised with broad stones a foot higher than the other; whereon strawing moss, they make their nests to sleep in. They defile these dens most filthily with their beastly feeding, and dwell so long in a place, as we think, until their sluttishness loathing them, they are forced to seek a sweeter air, and a new seat; and are, no doubt, a dispersed and wandering nation, as the Tartarians, and live in hordes and troops, without any certain abode, as may appear by sundry circumstances of our experience.

Here our captive being ashore with us to declare the use of such things as we saw, stayed himself alone behind the company, and did set up five small sticks round in a circle one by another, with one small bone placed just in the midst of all: which thing when one of our men perceived, he called us back to behold the matter, thinking that he had meant some charm or witchcraft therein. But the best conjecture we could make thereof was, that he would thereby his countrymen should understand, that for our five men which they betrayed the last year, whom he signified by the five sticks, he was taken and kept prisoner, which he signified by the bone in the midst. For afterwards when we showed him the picture of his countryman, which the last year was brought into *England*[1], (whose counterfeit we had, drawn, with boat and other furniture, both as he was in his own, and also in English apparel,) he was upon the sudden much amazed thereat: and beholding advisedly the same with silence a good while, as though he would strain courtesy whether should begin the speech, for he thought him no doubt a lively creature, at length began to question with him, as with his companion; and finding him dumb and mute, seemed

[1] See p. 93.

to suspect him, as one disdainful, and would with a little help have grown into choler at the matter, until at last, by feeling and handling, he found him but a deceiving picture. And then with great noise and cries, ceased not wondering, thinking that we could make men live or die at our pleasure. And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gave us plainly to understand by signs, that he had knowledge of the taking of our five men the last year; and confessing the manner of each thing, numbered the five men upon his five fingers, and pointed unto a boat in our ship, which was like unto that wherein our men were betrayed. And when we made him signs that they were slain and eaten, he earnestly denied, and made signs to the contrary.

The last of July the *Michael* returned with the *Aid* to us from the southerland, and came to anchor by us in the Countess of *Warwick's* Sound, and reported that since we departed from *Jackman's* Sound there happened nothing among them there greatly worth the remembrance, until the 30. of July, when certain of our company being ashore upon a small island within the said *Jackman's* Sound, near the place where the *Aid* rode, did espy a long boat with divers of the country people therein, to the number of eighteen or twenty persons. Whom so soon as our men perceived, they returned speedily aboard, to give notice thereof unto our company. They might perceive these people climbing up to the top of a hill, where, with a flag, they wafted unto our ship, and made great outcries and noises, like so many bulls. Hereupon our men did presently man forth a small skiff, having not above six or seven persons therein, which rowed near the place where these people were, to prove if they could have any conference with them. But after this small boat

was sent a greater, being well appointed for their rescue, if need required. As soon as they espied our company coming near them, they took their boats and hasted away, either for fear, or else for policy, to draw our men from rescue further within their danger; wherefore our men construing that their coming thither was but to seek advantage, followed speedily after them. But they rowed so swiftly away that our men could come nothing near them. Howbeit they failed not of their best endeavour in rowing; and having chased them above two miles into the sea, returned into their ships again.

The morning following, being the first of August, Captain *York*, with the *Michael*, came into *Jackman's* Sound, and declared unto the company there that the last night past he came to anchor in a certain bay (which sithence was named *York's* Sound) about four leagues distant from *Jackman's* Sound, being put to leeward of that place for lack of wind, where he discovered certain tents of the country people; where going with his company ashore he entered into them, but found the people departed, as it should seem, for fear of their coming. But amongst sundry strange things which in these tents they found, there was raw and new-killed flesh of unknown sorts, with dead carcases and bones of dogs, and I know not what. They also beheld, to their greatest marvel, a doublet of canvas made after the English fashion, a shirt, a girdle, three shoes for contrary feet, and of unequal bigness, which they well conjectured to be the apparel of our five poor countrymen, which were intercepted the last year by these country people, about fifty leagues from this place, further within the straits. Whereupon our men being in good hope that some of them might be here, and yet living, the captain, devising for the best,

left his mind behind him in writing, with pen, ink, and paper also, whereby our poor captive countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends' minds, and of their arrival, and likewise return their answer. And so, without taking anything away in their tents, leaving there also looking-glasses, points, and other of our toys, the better to allure them by such friendly means, departed aboard his bark, with intent to make haste to the *Aid*, to give notice unto the company of all such things as he had there discovered; and so meant to return to these tents again, hoping that he might by force or policy entrap or entice the people to some friendly conference.

Which things when he had delivered to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Hereupon Captain *York* with the master of the *Aid*, and his mate (who the night before had been at the tents, and came over from the other side in the *Michael*, with him), being accompanied with the gentlemen and soldiers to the number of thirty or forty persons, in two small rowing pinnaces made towards the place where the night before they discovered the tents of those people. And setting *Charles Jackman*, being the master's mate, ashore with a convenient number, for that he could best guide them to the place, they marched overland, meaning to compass them on the one side, whilst the captain with his boats might entrap them on the other side. But landing at last at the place where the night before they left them, they found them, with their tents, removed. Notwithstanding, our men which marched up into the country, passing over two or three mountains, by chance espied certain tents in a valley underneath them near unto a creek by the sea side; which because it was not the place where the guide had been the night before, they judged

them to be another company, and besetting them about, determined to take them if they could. But they, having quickly descried our company, launched one great and another small boat, being about sixteen or eighteen persons, and, very narrowly escaping, put themselves to sea. Whereupon our soldiers discharged their calivers, and followed them, thinking the noise thereof being heard to our boats at sea, our men there would make what speed they might to that place. And thereupon indeed our men which were in the boats, crossing upon them in the mouth of the sound, whereby their passage was let from getting sea room, (wherein it had been impossible for us to overtake them by rowing,) forced them to put themselves ashore upon a point of land within the said sound, which upon the occasion of the slaughter there, was since named *The Bloody Point.* Whereunto our men so speedily followed, that they had little leisure left them to make any escape. But so soon as they landed, each of them brake his oar, thinking by that means to prevent us in carrying away their boats, for want of oars; and desperately returning upon our men, resisted them manfully in their landing, so long as their arrows and darts lasted; and after gathering up those arrows which our men shot at them, yea, and plucking our arrows out of their bodies, encountered afresh again, and maintained their cause until both weapons and life failed them. And when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they cast themselves headlong from off the rocks into the sea; lest perhaps their enemies should receive glory or prey of their dead carcases, for they supposed us belike to be cannibals or eaters of man's flesh. In this conflict one of our men was dangerously hurt in the belly with one of their arrows, and of them were slain five or six, the rest by

flight escaping among the rocks; saving two women, whereof the one being old and ugly, our men thought she had been a devil or some witch, and therefore let her go. The other, being young and cumbered with a sucking child at her back, hiding herself behind the rocks, was espied by one of our men; who, supposing she had been a man, shot through the hair of her head, and pierced through the child's arm. Whereupon she cried out; and our surgeon, meaning to heal her child's arm, applied salves thereunto. But she, not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked those salves away; and by continual licking with her own tongue, not much unlike our dogs, healed up the child's arm. And because the day was well-near spent, our men made haste unto the rest of our company, which on the other side of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparel, letter, and other English furniture, that they were the same company which Captain *York* discovered the night before, having removed themselves from the place where he left them. And now, considering their sudden flying from our men, and their desperate manner of fighting, we began to suspect that we had heard the last news of our men which the last year were betrayed of these people; and considering also their ravenous and bloody disposition in eating any kind of raw flesh or carrion howsoever stinking, it is to be thought that they had slain and devoured our men; for the doublet which was found in their tents had many holes therein, being made with their arrows and darts.

But now the night being at hand, our men, with their captives and such poor stuff as they found in their tents, returned towards their ships. When, being at sea, there arose a sudden flaw of wind, which was not a little dangerous for their small boats; but as God would, they

came all safely aboard. And with these good news they returned, as before mentioned, into the Countess of *Warwick's* Sound, unto us. And between *Jackman's* Sound, from whence they came, and the Countess of *Warwick's* Sound, between land and land, being thought the narrowest place of the straits, were judged nine leagues over at the least, and *Jackman's* Sound being upon the southerland, lieth directly almost over against the Countess's Sound, as is reckoned scarce thirty leagues within the straits from the *Queen's Cape,* which is the entrance of the Straits of the Southerland. This cape being named *Queen Elizabeth's Cape,* standeth in the latitude of sixty-two degrees and a half to the northwards of Newfoundland, and upon the same continent, for anything that is yet known to the contrary.

Having now got a woman captive for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together, and every man with silence desired to behold the manner of their meeting and entertainment, the which was more worth the beholding than can be well expressed by writing. At their first encountering they beheld each the other very wistly a good space, without speech or word uttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it seemed the grief and disdain of their captivity had taken away the use of their tongues and utterance. The woman at the first very suddenly, as though she disdained or regarded not the man, turned away and began to sing, as though she minded another matter; but being again brought together, the man broke up the silence first, and with stern and staid countenance, began to tell a long solemn tale to the woman. Whereunto she gave good hearing, and interrupted him nothing till he had finished; and afterwards, being grown into more familiar acquaintance by speech, they were turned together, so that I think

the one would hardly have lived without the comfort of the other. And for so much as we could perceive, albeit they lived continually together, yet they did never use as man and wife, though the woman spared not to do all necessary things that appertained to a good housewife indifferently for them both, as in making clean their cabin, and every other thing that appertained to his ease; for when he was sea-sick she would make him clean, she would kill and flay the dogs for their eating, and dress his meat. * * *

On Monday, the sixth of August, the lieutenant, with all the soldiers, for the better guard of the miners and the other things on shore, pitched their tents in the Countess's Island, and fortified the place for their better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of forty persons, when, being all at labour, they might perceive upon the top of a hill over against them, a number of the country people, wafting with a flag, and making great outcries unto them, and were of the same company which had encountered lately our men upon the other shore, being come to complain their late losses, and to entreat, as it seemed, for the restitution of the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away. Whereupon the General, taking the savage captive with him, and setting the woman where they might best perceive her, in the highest place of the island, went over to talk with them. This captive, at his first encounter of his friends, fell so out into tears that he could not speak a word in a great space; but after a while, overcoming his kindness, he talked at full with his companions, and bestowed friendly upon them such toys and trifles as we had given him: whereby we noted that they are very kind one to another, and greatly sorrowful for the loss

of their friends. Our General, by signs, required his five men, which they took captive the last year; and promised them not only to release those which he had taken, but also to reward them with great gifts and friendship. Our savage made signs in answer from them, that our men should be delivered us, and were yet living, and made signs likewise unto us that we should write our letters unto them. For they knew very well the use we have of writing, and received knowledge thereof, either of our poor captive countrymen which they betrayed, or else by this our new captive, who hath seen us daily write and repeat again such words of his language as we desired to learn. But they for this night, because it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earnestly in haste for the same. And the next morning early, being the seventh of August, they called again for the letter; which being delivered unto them, they speedily departed, making signs with three fingers, and pointing to the sun, that they meant to return within three days, until which time we heard no more of them; and about the time appointed they returned, in such sort as you shall afterwards hear.

This night, because the people were very near unto us, the lieutenant caused the trumpet to sound a call, and every man in the island repairing to the ensign, he put them in mind of the place, so far from their country, wherein they lived, and the danger of a great multitude, which they were subject unto, if good watch and ward were not kept. For at every low water the enemy might come almost dry-foot from the main unto us; wherefore he willed every man to prepare him in good readiness upon all sudden occasions. And so, giving the watch their charge, the company departed to rest.

I thought the captain's letter well worth the re-

membering, not for the circumstance of curious inditing, but for the substance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore have repeated here the same as by himself it was hastily written.

The Form of Master Martin Frobisher's *Letter to the English Captives.*

'In the name of God, in whom we all believe, who, I trust, hath preserved your bodies and souls amongst these infidels, I commend me unto you. I will be glad to seek by all means you can devise for your deliverance, either with force or with any commodities within my ships, which I will not spare for your sakes, or anything else I can do for you. I have aboard, of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am contented to deliver for you, but the man which I carried away from hence the last year is dead in England. Moreover, you may declare unto them that if they deliver you not, I will not leave a man alive in their country. And thus, if one of you can come to speak with me, they shall have either the man, woman, or child in pawn for you. And thus unto God, whom I trust you do serve, in haste I leave you, and to Him we will daily pray for you. This Tuesday morning, the seventh of August, Anno 1577.

'Yours to the uttermost of my power,
'Martin Frobisher.

'I have sent you, by these bearers, pen, ink, and paper, to write back unto me again, if personally you cannot come to certify me of your estate.'

Now had the General altered his determination for going any further into the straits at this time, for any further discovery of the passage, having taken a man and a woman of that country, which he thought sufficient for the use of language; and having also met with these people here which intercepted his men the last year, as the apparel and English furniture which was found in their tents very well declared, he knew it was

but a labour lost to seek them further off, when he had found them there at hand. And considering also the short time he had in hand, he thought it best to bend his whole endeavour for the getting of mine, and to leave the passage further to be discovered hereafter. For his commission directed him in this voyage only for the searching of the ore, and to defer the further discovery of the passage until another time.

On Thursday, the 9. of August, we began to make a small fort for our defence in the Countess's Island, and entrenched a corner of a cliff, which on three parts, like a wall of good height, was compassed and well fenced with the sea, and we finished the rest with casks of the earth, to good purpose: and this was called *Best's* Bulwark, after the lieutenant's name who first devised the same. This was done for that we suspected more lest the desperate men might oppress us with multitude, than any fear we had of their force, weapons, or policy of battle; but as wisdom would us in such place, so far from home, not to be of ourselves altogether careless. So the signs which our captive made unto us of the coming down of his governor or prince, which he called *Catchoe,* gave us occasion to foresee what might ensue thereof; for he showed by signs that this *Catchoe* was a man of higher stature far than any of our nation is, and he is accustomed to be carried upon men's shoulders. About midnight, the lieutenant caused a false alarm to be given in the island, to prove as well the readiness of the company there ashore, as also what help might be hoped for upon the sudden from the ships, if need so required; and every part was found in good readiness upon such a sudden.

Saturday, the 11. of August, the people showed themselves again, and called unto us from the side of a hill over against us. The General, with good hope to

hear of his men, and to have answer of his letter, went over unto them, where they presented themselves not above three in sight, but were hidden indeed in greater numbers behind the rocks; and making signs of delay with us, to entrap some of us to redeem their own, did only seek advantage to train our boat about a point of land from sight of our company. Whereupon our men, justly suspecting them, kept aloof without their danger, and yet set one of our company ashore, which took up a great bladder which one of them offered us, and leaving a looking-glass in the place, came into the boat again. In the meanwhile, our men which stood in the Countess's Island to behold, who might better discern them than those of the boat, by reason they were on higher ground, made a great outcry unto our men in the boat, for that they saw divers of the savages creeping behind the rocks towards our men; whereupon the General presently returned without tidings of his men.

Concerning this bladder which we received, our captive made signs that it was given him to keep water and drink in; but we suspected rather it was given him to swim and shift away withal, for he and the woman sought divers times to escape, having loosed our boats from astern our ships, and we never a boat left to pursue them withal, and had prevailed very far, had they not been very timely espied and prevented therein.

After our General's coming away from them they mustered themselves in our sight, upon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a rank, all holding hands over their heads, and dancing with great noise and songs together. We supposed they made this dance and show for us to understand, that we might take view of their whole companies and force, meaning belike that we should do the same. And thus they continued upon

the hill-tops until night, when hearing a piece of our great ordnance, which thundered in the hollowness of the high hills, it made unto them so fearful a noise, that they had no great will to tarry long after. And this was done more to make them know our force than to do them any hurt at all.

On Sunday, the 12. of August, Captain *Fenton* trained the company, and made the soldiers maintain skirmish among themselves, as well for their exercise, as for the country people to behold in what readiness our men were always to be found; for it was to be thought, that they lay hid in the hills thereabout, and observed all the manner of our proceedings.

On Wednesday, the 14. of August, our General with two small boats well appointed, for that he suspected the country people to lie lurking thereabout, went up a certain bay within the Countess's Sound to search for ore, and met again with the country people; who so soon as they saw our men made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders sewed together with the guts and sinews of beasts, wafted us amain unto them, but showed not above three of their company. But when we came near them, we might perceive a great multitude creeping behind the rocks, which gave us good cause to suspect their traitorous meaning: whereupon we made them signs, that if they would lay their weapons aside, and come forth, we would deal friendly with them, although their intent was manifested unto us. But for all the signs of friendship we could make them they came still creeping towards us behind the rocks to get more advantage of us, as though we had no eyes to see them, thinking belike that our single wits could not discover so bare devices and simple drifts of theirs. Their spokesman earnestly persuaded us with many enticing shows, to come eat and sleep ashore,

with great arguments of courtesy; and clapping his bare hands over his head in token of peace and innocency, willed us to do the like. But the better to allure our hungry stomachs, he brought us a trim bait of raw flesh, which for fashion sake with a boat-hook we caught into our boat: but when the cunning cater perceived his first cold morsel could nothing sharpen our stomachs, he cast about for a new train of warm flesh to procure our appetites. Wherefore he caused one of his fellows, in halting manner, to come forth as a lame man from behind the rocks; and the better to declare his kindness in carving, he hoised him upon his shoulders, and bringing him hard to the water-side where we were, left him there limping as an easy prey to be taken of us. His hope was that we would bite at his bait, and speedily leap ashore within their danger; whereby they might have apprehended some of us, to ransom their friends home again, which before we had taken. The gentlemen and soldiers had great will to encounter them ashore; but the General, more careful by process of time to win them, than wilfully at the first to spoil them, would in no wise admit that any man should put himself in hazard ashore, considering the matter he now intended was for the ore, and not for the conquest. Notwithstanding, to prove this cripple's footmanship, he gave liberty for one to shoot. Whereupon the cripple, having a parting blow, lightly recovered a rock, and went away a true and no feigned cripple, and hath learned his lesson for ever halting afore such cripples again. But his fellows, which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likeness, and maintained the skirmish with their slings, bows and arrows very fiercely, and came as near as the water suffered them: and with as desperate mind as hath been seen in any men, without fear of shot

or anything, followed us all along the coast; but all their shot fell short of us, and are of little danger. They had belayed[1] all the coast along for us, and being dispersed so, were not well to be numbered, but we might discern of them above an hundred persons, and had cause to suspect a greater number. And thus without loss or hurt we returned to our ships again.

Now our work growing to an end, and having, only with five poor miners, and the help of a few gentlemen and soldiers, brought aboard almost two hundred ton of ore in the space of twenty days, every man therewithal well comforted, determined lustily to work afresh for a boon voyage, to bring our labour to a speedy and happy end.

And upon Wednesday at night, being the 21. of August, we fully finished the whole work. And it was now good time to leave, for as the men were well wearied, so their shoes and clothes were well worn, their baskets' bottoms torn out, their tools broken, and the ships reasonably well filled. Some with over-straining themselves received hurts not a little dangerous, some having their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the ice began to congeal and freeze about our ships' sides a-night, which gave us a good argument of the sun's declining southward, and put us in mind to make more haste homeward. It is not a little worth the memory, to the commendation of the gentlemen and soldiers herein, who, leaving all reputation apart, with so great willingness and with courageous stomachs, have themselves almost overcome in so short a time the difficulty of this so great a labour. And this to be true, the matter, if it be well weighed without further proof, now brought home doth well witness.

[1] Lain in wait.

Thursday, the 22. of August, we plucked down our tents, and every man hasted homeward, and making bonfires upon the top of the highest mount of the island, and marching with ensign displayed round about the island, we gave a volley of shot for a farewell, in honour of the Right Honourable Lady *Anne*, Countess of *Warwick*, whose name it beareth: and so departed aboard. The 23. of August, having the wind large at west, we set sail from out of the Countess's Sound homeward; but the wind calming we came to anchor within the point of the same sound again.

The 24. of August, about three of the clock in the morning, having the wind large at west, we set sail again, and by nine o'clock at night we left the Queen's Foreland astern of us, and being clear of the straits, we bare further into the main ocean, keeping our course more southerly, to bring ourselves the sooner under the latitude of our own climate. The wind was very great at sea, so that we lay a-hull all night, and had snow half a foot deep on the hatches.

From the 24. until the 28. we had very much wind, but large, keeping our course south-south-east, and had like to have lost the barks, but by good hap we met again. The height being taken, we were in [cipher] degrees and a half.

The 29. of August the wind blew much at north-east, so that we could bear but only a bunt of our foresail, and the barks were not able to carry any sail at all. The *Michael* lost company of us, and shaped her course towards *Orkney*, because that way was better known unto them, and arrived at *Yarmouth*.

The 30. of August, with the force of the wind, and a surge of the sea, the master of the *Gabriel* and the boatswain were stricken both overboard, and hardly was the boatswain recovered, having hold on a rope hanging

overboard in the sea; and yet the bark was laced fore and after with ropes a breast high within board. This master was called *William Smith*, being but a young man and a very sufficient mariner. Who being all the morning before exceeding pleasant, told his captain he dreamed that he was cast overboard, and that the boatswain had him by the hand, and could not save him. And so, immediately upon the end of his tale, his dream came right evilly to pass; and indeed the boatswain in like sort held him by one hand, having hold on a rope with the other, until his force failed, and the master drowned. The height being taken we found ourselves to be in the latitude of [cipher] degrees and a half, and reckoned ourselves from the Queen's Cape homeward about two hundred leagues.

The last of August, about midnight, we had two or three great and sudden flaws or storms.

The first of September the storm was grown very great, and continued almost the whole day and night, and lying a-hull to tarry for the barks our ship was much beaten with the seas, every sea almost overtaking our poop, so that we were constrained with a bunt of our sail to try it out, and ease the rolling of our ship. And so the *Gabriel* not able to bear any sail to keep company with us, and our ship being higher in the poop, and a tall ship, whereon the wind had more force to drive, went so fast away that we lost sight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune of sea. The 2. day of September in the morning, it pleased God in his goodness to send us a calm, whereby we perceived the rudder of our ship torn in twain, and almost ready to fall away. Wherefore, taking the benefit of the time, we slung half-a-dozen couple of our best men overboard, who taking great pains under water, driving planks, and binding with ropes, did well strengthen and

mend the matter, who returned the most part more than half-dead out of the water, and, as God's pleasure was, the sea was calm until the work was finished. The fifth of September, the height of the sun being taken, we found ourselves to be in the latitude of [cipher] degrees and a-half. In this voyage commonly we took the latitude of the place by the height of the sun, because the long day taketh away the light not only of the polar, but also of all other fixed stars. And here the north star is so much elevated above the horizon, that with the staff it is hardly to be well observed, and the degrees in the astrolabe are too small to observe minutes. Therefore we always used the staff and the sun as fittest instruments for this use.

Having spent four or five days in traverse of the seas with contrary wind, making our souther way good as near as we could, to raise our degrees to bring ourselves with the latitude of *Scilly*, we took the height the tenth of September, and found ourselves in the latitude of [cipher] degrees and ten minutes. The 11. of September, about six a-clock at night, the wind came good south-west; we veered sheet and set our course south-east. And upon Thursday, the 12. of September, taking the height, we were in the latitude of [cipher] and a-half, and reckoned ourselves not past one hundred and fifty leagues short of *Scilly*; the weather fair, the wind large at west-south-west, we kept our course south-east.

The 13. day, the height being taken, we found ourselves to be in the latitude of [cipher] degrees, the wind west-south-west, then being in the height of *Scilly*, and we kept our course east, to run in with the Sleeve[1], or channel so called, being our narrow seas, and reckoned us short of *Scilly* twelve leagues.

[1] The English Channel. Fr. *Manche* (=sleeve), from its shape.

Sunday, the 15. of September, about four of the clock, we began to sound with our lead, and had ground at sixty-one fathom depth, white small sandy ground, and reckoned us upon the back of *Scilly*, and set our course east and by north, east-north-east, and north-east among.

The 16. of September, about eight of the clock in the morning, sounding, we had sixty-five fathom, oozy sand, and thought ourselves thwart of *St. George's* Channel, a little within the banks. And bearing a small sail all night, we made many soundings, which were about forty fathom, and so shallow that we could not well tell where we were.

The 17. of September, we sounded, and had forty fathom, and were not far off the Land's-End, finding branded sand with small worms and cockle-shells, and were shot between *Scilly* and the Land's-End; and being within the bay, we were not able to double the point with a south-and-by-east way, but were fain to make another board, the wind being at south-west and by west, and yet could not double the point to come clear of the Land's-End, to bear along the Channel; and the weather cleared up when we were hard aboard the shore, and we made the Land's-End perfect, and so put up along *St. George's* Channel. And the weather being very foul at sea, we coveted some harborough, because our steerage was broken, and so came to anchor in *Padstow* Road, in *Cornwall*. But riding there a very dangerous road, we were advised by the country to put to sea again, and of the two evils, to choose the less, for there was nothing but present peril where we rode. Whereupon we plied along the Channel to get to *Lundy*, from whence we were again driven, being but an open road, where our anchor came home[1]; and with force of

[1] P. 40, note 2.

weather put to seas again, and about the 23. of September arrived at *Milford* Haven, in *Wales*, which being a very good harborough, made us happy men, that we had received such long-desired safety.

About one month after our arrival here, by order from the Lords of the Council, the ship came up to *Bristow*, where the ore was committed to keeping in the castle there[1]. Here we found the *Gabriel*, one of the barks, arrived in good safety, who having never a man within board very sufficient to bring home the ship, after the master was lost, by good fortune, when she came upon the coast, met with a ship of *Bristow* at sea, who conducted her in safety thither.

Here we heard good tidings also of the arrival of the other bark called the *Michael*, in the north parts, which was not a little joyful unto us, that it pleased God so to bring us to a safe meeting again; and we lost in all the voyage only one man, besides one that died at sea, which was sick before he came aboard, and was so desirous to follow this enterprise that he rather chose to die therein, than not to be one to attempt so notable a voyage.

[1] The ore brought by the *Aid* and *Gabriel*, and deposited in Bristol Castle, was placed under four locks, the keys of which were given to the Mayor of Bristol, Sir Richard Barkley, Frobisher, and Lock. That brought by the *Michael* was deposited in the Tower of London with similar precautions. The mineral was ultimately taken to Dartford to be melted. It was reported to yield a very minute proportion of gold, and a somewhat larger proportion of silver.

FROBISHER—THIRD VOYAGE.

[NARRATIVE BY GEORGE BEST, CAPTAIN OF THE ANNE FRANCIS.]

The THIRD VOYAGE *of* CAPTAIN FROBISHER, *pretended for the Discovery of* CATAIA, *by* META INCOGNITA, *Anno Domini 1578.*

THE General being returned from the second voyage, immediately after his arrival in *England* repaired with all haste to the Court, being then at *Windsor*, to advertise her Majesty of his prosperous proceeding and good success in this last voyage, and of the plenty of gold ore, with other matters of importance which he had in these septentrional parts discovered. He was courteously entertained, and heartily welcomed of many noblemen, but especially for his great adventure commended of her Majesty, at whose hands he received great thanks, and most gracious countenance, according to his deserts. Her Highness also greatly commended the rest of the gentlemen in this service, for their great forwardness in this so dangerous an attempt; but especially she rejoiced very much that among them there was so good order of government, so good agreement, every man so ready in his calling, to do whatsoever the General should command. Which due commendation graciously of her Majesty remembered, gave so great encouragement to all the captains and gentlemen, that they, to continue her Highness' so good and honourable opinion of them, have since neither spared labour, limb, nor life, to bring this matter, so well begun, to a happy and prosperous end. And finding that the matter of the gold ore had appearance and made show of great riches

and profit, and the hope of the passage to *Cataia* by this last voyage greatly increased, her Majesty appointed special commissioners chosen for his purpose, gentlemen of great judgment, art, and skill, to look thoroughly into the cause, for the true trial and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters thereunto appertaining. And because that place and country hath never heretofore been discovered, and therefore had no special name by which it might be called and known, her Majesty named it very properly *Meta Incognita*, as a mark and bound utterly hitherto unknown.

The commissioners, after sufficient trial and proof made of the ore, and having understood by sundry reasons and substantial grounds, the possibility and likelihood of the passage, advertised her Highness that the cause was of importance, and the voyage greatly worthy to be advanced again. Whereupon preparation was made of ships and all other things necessary, with such expedition, as the time of the year then required. And because it was assuredly made account of, that the commodity of mines, there already discovered, would at the least countervail in all respects the adventurers' charge, and give further hope and likelihood of greater matters to follow: it was thought needful, both for the better guard of those parts already found, and for further discovery of the inland and secrets of those countries, and also for further search of the passage of *Cataya*, whereof the hope continually more and more increaseth, that certain numbers of chosen soldiers and discreet men for those purposes should be assigned to inhabit there. Whereupon there was a strong fort or house of timber artificially framed, and cunningly devised, by a notable learned man here at home, in ships to be carried thither; whereby those men that were appointed to winter and stay there the whole year,

might as well be defended from the danger of the snow and cold air, as also fortified from the force or offence of those country people, which perhaps otherwise with too great multitudes might oppress them. And to this great adventure and notable exploit many well-minded and forward young gentlemen of our country willingly have offered themselves. And first Captain *Fenton*, Lieutenant-General for Captain *Frobisher*, and in charge of the company with him there, Captain *Best*, and Captain *Philpot*, unto whose good discretions the government of that service was chiefly commended, who, as men not regarding peril in respect of the profit and common wealth of their country, were willing to abide the first brunt and adventure of those dangers among a savage and brutish kind of people, in a place hitherto ever thought for extreme cold not habitable. The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabit *Meta Incognita* all the year, were 100 persons, whereof 40 should be mariners for the use of ships, 30 miners for gathering the gold ore together for the next year, and 30 soldiers for the better guard of the rest; within which last number are included the gentlemen, gold-finers, bakers, carpenters, and all necessary persons. To each of the captains was assigned one ship, as well for the further searching of the coast and country there, as for to return and bring back their companies again, if the necessity of the place so urged, or by miscarrying of the fleet the next year, they might be disappointed of their further provision. Being therefore thus furnished with all necessaries, there were ready to depart upon the said voyage fifteen sail of good ships; whereof the whole number was to return again with their loading of gold ore in the end of the summer, except those three ships which should be left for the use of those captains which should inhabit

there the whole year. And being in so good readiness, the General with all the captains came to the Court, then lying at *Greenwich*, to take their leave of her Majesty, at whose hands they all received great encouragement, and gracious countenance. Her Highness, besides other good gifts, and greater promises, bestowed on the General a fair chain of gold, and the rest of the captains kissed her hand, took their leave, and departed every man towards their charge. In the *Aid*, being Admiral, was the General, Captain *Frobisher*: in the *Thomas Allen*, Vice-Admiral, Captain *York*: in the *Judith*, Lieutenant-General, Captain *Fenton*: in the *Anne Francis*, Captain *Best*: in the *Hopewell*, Captain *Carew*: in the *Bear*, Captain *Philpot*: in the *Thomas* of *Ipswich*, Captain *Tanfield*: in the *Emmanuel* of *Exeter*[1], Captain *Courtney*: in the *Francis* of *Foy*, Captain *Moyles*: in the *Moon*, Captain *Upcott*: in the *Emmanuel* of *Bridgewater*, Captain *Newton*: in the *Solomon*[2] of *Weymouth*, Captain *Randal*: in the bark *Dennis*, Captain *Kendal*: in the *Gabriel*, Captain *Harvey*: in the *Michael*, Captain *Kinnersley*.

The said fifteen sail of ships arrived and met together at *Harwich*, the seven and twentieth day of May *Anno* 1578, where the General and the other captains made view, and mustered their companies. And every several captain received from the General certain Articles of Direction for the better keeping of order and company together in the way, which Articles are as followeth:—

ARTICLES *and* ORDERS *to be observed for the Fleet. Set down by* CAPTAIN FROBISHER, GENERAL, *and delivered in writing to every Captain, as well for keeping company, as for the course, the 31. of May.*

1. IMPRIMIS, to banish swearing, dice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to serve God

[1] Afterwards called the *Armenal.*
[2] Afterwards called the *Salamander.*

twice a-day, with the ordinary service usual in Churches of *England*, and to clear the glass according to the old order of *England*[1].

2. The Admiral shall carry the light, and after his light be once put out no man to go ahead of him, but every man to fit his sails to follow as near as they may without endangering one another.

3. That no man shall by day or by night depart further from the Admiral than the distance of one English mile, and as near as they may without danger one of another.

4. If it chance to grow thick, and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the Admiral be forced to cast about, before her casting about she shall give warning by shooting off a piece: and to her shall answer the Vice-Admiral and the Rear-Admiral, each of them with a piece, if it be by night or in a fog; and that the Vice-Admiral shall answer first and the Rear-Admiral last.

5. That no man in the fleet, descrying any sail or sails, give upon any occasion any chase before he have spoken with the Admiral.

6. That every evening all the fleet come up and speak with the Admiral, at seven of the clock, or between that and eight; and if the weather will not serve them all to speak with the Admiral, then some shall come to the Vice-Admiral, and receive the order of their course of Master *Hall*, Chief Pilot of the Fleet, as he shall direct them.

7. If to any man in the fleet there happen any mischance, they shall presently shoot off two pieces by day, and if it be by night, two pieces, and shew two lights.

8. If any man in the fleet come up in the night, and hail his fellow, knowing him not, he shall give him this watchword, BEFORE THE WORLD WAS GOD. The other shall answer him, if he be one of our fleet, AFTER GOD CAME CHRIST HIS SON. So that if any be found amongst us, not of our own company, he that first descrieth any such sail or sails, shall give warning to the Admiral by himself or any other that he can speak to, that sails better than he, being nearest unto him.

[1] A short prayer, with a psalm, was used every four hours, at the changing of the watch, as the glass was 'clearing' (running-out).

9. That every ship in the fleet in the time of fogs, which continually happen with little winds, and most part calms, shall keep a reasonable noise with trumpet, drum, or otherwise, to keep themselves clear one of another.

10. If it fall out so thick or misty that we lay it to hull, the Admiral shall give warning with a piece, and putting out three lights one over another, to the end that every man may take in his sails; and at his setting of sails again do the like, if it be not clear.

11. If any man discover land by night, that he give the like warning that he doth for mischances, two lights and two pieces; if it be by day, one piece, and put out his flag, and strike all his sails he hath aboard.

12. If any ship shall happen to lose company by force of weather, then any such ship or ships shall get her into the latitude of [cipher], and so keep that latitude until they get to *Frisland.* And after they be past the west parts of *Frisland,* they shall get them into the latitude of [cipher], and [cipher], and not to the northward of [cipher]: and being once entered within the Straits, all such ships shall every watch shoot off a good piece, and look out well for smoke and fire, which those that get in first shall make every night, until all the fleet be come together.

13. That upon the sight of an ensign in the mast of the Admiral (a piece being shot off) the whole fleet shall repair to the Admiral, to understand such conference as the General is to have with them.

14. If we chance to meet with any enemies, that four ships shall attend upon the Admiral; namely, the *Francis* of *Foy,* the *Moon,* the bark *Dennis,* and the *Gabriel*; and four upon my Lieutenant-General in the *Judith*; namely, the *Hopewell,* the *Armenal,* the *Bear,* and the *Solomon*; and the other four upon the Vice-Admiral, the *Anne Francis,* the *Thomas* of *Ipswich,* the *Emmanuel*[1], and the *Michael.*

15. If there happen any disordered person in the fleet, that he be taken and kept in safe custody until he may conveniently be brought aboard the Admiral,

[1] Subsequently called the *Buss of Bridgwater.*

and there to receive such punishment as his or their offences shall deserve.

By me, MARTIN FROBISHER.

Having received these Articles of Direction, we departed from *Harwich* the one and thirtieth of May. And sailing along the south part of *England* westward, we at length came by the coast of *Ireland* at *Cape Clear* the sixth of June, and gave chase there to a small bark which was supposed to be a pirate or rover on the seas. But it fell out indeed that they were poor men of *Bristow*, who had met with such company of Frenchmen as had spoiled and slain many of them, and left the rest so sore wounded that they were like to perish in the sea, having neither hand nor foot whole to help themselves with, nor victuals to sustain their hungry bodies. Our General, who well understood the office of a soldier and an Englishman, and knew well what the necessity of the sea meaneth, pitying much the misery of the poor men, relieved them with surgery and salves to heal their hurts, and with meat and drink to comfort their pining hearts; some of them having neither eaten nor drunk more than olives and stinking water in many days before, as they reported. And after this good deed done, having a large wind, we kept our course upon our said voyage without staying for the taking in of fresh water, or any other provision, whereof many of the fleet were not throughly furnished. And sailing towards the north-west parts from *Ireland*, we met with a great current from out of the south-west, which carried us, by our reckoning, one point to the north-eastwards of our said course; which current seemed to us to continue itself towards *Norway*, and other the north-east parts of the world. Whereby we may be induced to believe that this is the same which the *Portugals* meet at *Capo de Buena Speranza*, where

striking over from thence to the Straits of *Magellan*, and finding no passage there for the narrowness of the said straits, [it] runneth along into the great Bay of *Mexico*, where also having a let of land, it is forced to strike back again towards the north-east; as we not only here, but in another place also, further to the northwards, by good experience this year have found, as shall be hereafter in his place more at large declared.

Now had we sailed about fourteen days without sight of land or any other living thing, except certain fowls, as willmots, noddies, gulls, &c., which there seem only to live by sea. The 20. of June, at two of the clock in the morning, the General descried land, and found it to be West *Frisland*, now named West *England*. Here the General and other gentlemen went ashore, being the first known Christians that we have true notice of that ever set foot upon that ground. And therefore the General took possession thereof to the use of our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, and discovered here a goodly harborough for the ships, where were also certain little boats of that country. And being there landed they espied certain tents and people of that country; which were, as they judge, in all sorts, very like those of *Meta Incognita*, as by their apparel, and other things which we found in their tents, appeared.

The savage and simple people so soon as they perceived our men coming towards them, supposing there had been no other world but theirs, fled fearfully away, as men much amazed at so strange a sight, and creatures of human shape, so far in apparel, complexion, and other things different from themselves. They left in their tents all their furniture for haste behind them, where amongst other things were found a box of small nails, and certain red herrings, boards of fir-tree well cut, with divers other things artificially wrought.

Whereby it appeareth, that they have trade with some civil people, or else are indeed themselves artificial workmen. Our men brought away with them only two of their dogs, leaving in recompense bells, looking-glasses, and divers of our country toys behind them. This country, no doubt, promiseth good hope of great commodity and riches, if it may be well discovered; the description whereof you shall find more at large in the Second Voyage. Some are of opinion that this West *England* is firm land with the north-east parts of *Meta Incognita*, or else with *Greenland.* And their reason is, because the people, apparel, boats, and other things are so like to theirs; and another reason is, the multitude of islands of ice, which lay between it and *Meta Incognita*, doth argue, that on the north side there is a bay, which cannot be but by conjoining of the two lands together.

And having a fair and large wind we departed from thence towards *Frobisher's* Straits the 23. of June. But first we gave name to a high cliff in West *England*, the last that was in our sight, and for a certain similitude we called it *Charing Cross.* Then we bare southerly towards the sea; because to the northwards of this coast we met with much driving ice, which by reason of the thick mists and weather might have been some trouble unto us. On Monday, the last of June, we met with many great whales, as they had been porpoises. This same day the *Salamander*, being under both her courses [1] and bonnets [2], happened to strike a great whale with her full stem, with such a blow that the ship stood still, and stirred neither forward nor backward. The whale thereat made a great and ugly noise, and cast up his body and tail, and so went under water; and within two days after there was found a great whale

[1] Main-sail and fore-sail.
[2] Canvases laced to the foot of the courses.

dead, swimming above water, which we supposed was that which the *Salamander* struck.

The second day of July, early in the morning, we had sight of the Queen's Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day, and passing thorough great quantity of ice, by night were entered somewhat within the Straits, perceiving no way to pass further in, the whole place being frozen over from the one side to the other, and as it were with many walls, mountains, and bulwarks of ice, choked up the passage, and denied us entrance. And yet do I not think that this passage or sea hereabouts is frozen over at any time of the year: albeit it seemed so unto us by the abundance of ice gathered together, which occupied the whole place. But I do rather suppose these ice to be bred in the hollow sounds and freshets thereabouts; which, by the heat of the summer's sun being loosed, do empty themselves with the ebbs into the sea, and so gather in great abundance there together.

And to speak somewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen sea in these parts: I do think it to be rather a bare conjecture of men, than that ever any man hath made experience of any such sea. And that which they speak of *Mare glaciale*, may be truly thought to be spoken of these parts; for this may well be called indeed the icy sea, but not the frozen sea, for no sea consisting of salt water can be frozen, as I have more at large herein shewed my opinion in my Second Voyage, for it seemeth impossible for any sea to be frozen which hath his course of ebbing and flowing, especially in those places where the tides do ebb and flow above ten fathom. And also all these aforesaid ice, which we sometime met a hundred mile from land, being gathered out of the salt sea, are in taste fresh, and being dissolved become sweet and wholesome water.

And the cause why this year we have been more cumbered with ice than at other times before, may be by reason of the easterly and southerly winds, which brought us more timely thither now than we looked for. Which blowing from the sea directly upon the place of our Straits, hath kept in the ice, and not suffered them to be carried out by the ebb to the main sea, where they would in more short time have been dissolved. And all these fleeting ice are not only so dangerous in that they wind and gather so near together, that a man may pass sometimes ten or twelve miles as it were upon one firm island of ice; but also for that they open and shut together again in such sort with the tides and sea-gate, that whilst one ship followeth the other with full sails, the ice which was open unto the foremost will join and close together before the latter can come to follow the first, whereby many times our ships were brought into great danger, as being not able so suddenly to take in our sails, or stay the swift way of our ships.

We were forced many times to stem and strike great rocks of ice, and so as it were make way through mighty mountains. By which means some of the fleet, where they found the ice to open, entered in, and passed so far within the danger thereof, with continual desire to recover their port, that it was the greatest wonder of the world that they ever escaped safe, or were ever heard of again. For even at this present we missed two of the fleet, that is, the *Judith*, wherein was the Lieutenant-General Captain *Fenton*, and the *Michael*; whom both we supposed had been utterly lost, having not heard any tidings of them in moe than 20 days before. And one of our fleet named the bark *Dennis*, being of an 100 ton burden, seeking way in amongst these ice, received such a blow with a rock of ice that she sunk

down therewith in the sight of the whole fleet[1]. Howbeit, having signified her danger by shooting off a piece of great ordnance, new succour of other ships came so readily unto them, that the men were all saved with boats. Within this ship that was drowned there was parcel of our house which was to be erected for them that should stay all the winter in *Meta Incognita.*

This was a more fearful spectacle for the fleet to behold, for that the outrageous storm which presently followed, threatened them the like fortune and danger. For the fleet being thus compassed, as aforesaid, on every side with ice, having left much behind them, thorough which they passed, and finding more before them, thorough which it was not possible to pass, there arose a sudden terrible tempest at the south-east, which blowing from the main sea directly upon the place of the Straits, brought together all the ice a sea-board of us upon our backs, and thereby debarred us of turning back to recover sea-room again; so that being thus compassed with danger on every side, sundry men with sundry devices sought the best way to save themselves. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more clear of ice, and get a little berth of sea-room, did take in their sails, and there lay adrift. Other some fastened and moored anchor upon a great island of ice, and rode under the lee thereof, supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outrageous winds, and the danger of the lesser fleeting ice. And again some were so fast shut up, and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countries and islands of ice, that they were fain to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and strengthened the sides of their ships with junks of cables, beds, masts, planks, and

[1] 'Which sight,' writes Thomas Ellis, 'so abashed the whole fleet, that we thought verily we should have tasted of the same sauce.'

such like, which being hanged overboard on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said ice. But as in greatest distress men of best valour are best to be discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what invincible mind every captain encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painful mariners and poor miners, unacquainted with such extremities, to the everlasting renown of our nation, did overcome the brunt of these so great and extreme dangers. For some, even without board upon the ice, and some within board upon the sides of their ships, having poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and oars in their hands, stood almost day and night without any rest, bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the ice with such incredible pain and peril, that it was wonderful to behold; which otherwise no doubt had stricken quite through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our former provision; for planks of timber of more than three inches thick, and other things of greater force and bigness, by the surging of the sea and billow, with the ice were shivered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships, so that it will seem more than credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainly to be proved, and that by many substantial witnesses, that our ships, even those of greatest burdens, with the meeting of contrary waves of the sea, were heaved up between islands of ice, a foot well-near out of the sea, above their watermark, having their knees and timbers within board both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidst these extremes, whilst some laboured for defence of the ships, and sought to save their bodies, other some, of more milder spirit, sought to save the soul by devout prayer and meditation to the Almighty;

thinking indeed by no other means possible than by a divine miracle to have their deliverance. So that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied; and he that held himself in best security had, God knoweth, but only bare hope remaining for his best safety. Thus all the gallant fleet and miserable men, without hope of ever getting forth again, distressed with these extremities, remained here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting four ships, that is, the *Anne Francis*, the *Moon*, the *Francis* of *Foy*, and the *Gabriel*; which being somewhat a-seaboard of the fleet, and being fast ships by a wind, having a more scope of clear, tried it out, all the time of the storm, under sail, being hardly able to bear a-coast of each [other].

And albeit, by reason of the fleeting ice, which were dispersed here almost the whole sea over, they were brought many times to the extremest point of peril, mountains of ice ten thousand times scaping them scarce one inch, which to have stricken had been their present destruction, considering the swift course and way of the ships, and the unwieldiness of them to stay and turn as a man would wish; yet they esteemed it their better safety, with such peril, to seek sea-room, than, without hope of ever getting liberty, to lie striving against the stream, and beating amongst the icy mountains; whose hugeness and monstrous greatness was such that no man could credit but such as, to their pains, saw and felt it. And these four ships by the next day at noon got out to sea, and were first clear of the ice. Who now enjoying their own liberty, began anew to sorrow and fear for their fellows' safeties; and, devoutly kneeling about their mainmast, they gave unto God humble thanks, not only for themselves, but besought Him likewise highly for their friends' deliverance.

And even now whilst amidst these extremities this gallant fleet and valiant men were altogether overlaboured and forwatched with the long and fearful continuance of the foresaid dangers, it pleased God with His eyes of mercy to look down from heaven to send them help in good time, giving them the next day a more favourable wind at the west-north-west, which did not only disperse and drive forth the ice before them, but also gave them liberty of more scope and sea-room; and they were by night of the same day following perceived of the other four ships, where, to their greatest comfort, they enjoyed again the fellowship one of another. Some in mending the sides of their ships, some in setting up their topmasts, and mending their sails and tacklings; again, some complaining of their false stem borne away, some in stopping their leaks, some in recounting their dangers past, spent no small time and labour. So that I dare well avouch there were never men more dangerously distressed, nor more mercifully by God's providence delivered. And hereof both the torn ships, and the forwearied bodies of the men arrived, do bear most evident mark and witness. And now the whole fleet plied off to seaward, resolving there to abide until the sun might consume, or the force of wind disperse, these ice from the place of their passage. And being a good berth off the shore, they took in their sails and lay adrift.

The seventh of July, as men nothing yet dismayed, we cast about towards the inward, and had sight of land, which rose in form like the Northerland of the Straits. Which some of the fleet, and those not the worst mariners, judged to be the *North Foreland*; howbeit other some were of contrary opinion. But the matter was not well to be discerned by reason of the thick fog which a long time hung upon the coast, and the new

falling snow, which yearly altereth the shape of the land, and taketh away oftentimes the mariners' marks. And by reason of the dark mists, which continued by the space of twenty days together, this doubt grew the greater and the longer perilous. For whereas indeed we thought ourselves to be upon the north-east side of *Frobisher's* Straits, we were now carried to the south-westwards of the *Queen's Foreland*, and, being deceived by a swift current coming from the north-east, were brought to the south-westwards of our said course many miles more than we did think possible could come to pass. The cause whereof we have since found, and it shall be at large hereafter declared.

Here we made a point of land which some mistook for a place in the Straits called *Mount Warwick.* But how we should be so far shot up so suddenly within the said Straits the expertest mariners began to marvel; thinking it a thing impossible that they could be so far overtaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceive them here which they had not by former experience proved and found out. Howbeit, many confessed that they found a swifter course of flood than beforetime they had observed. And truly it was wonderful to hear and see the rushing and noise that the tides do make in this place, with so violent a force that our ships lying a-hull were turned sometimes round about even in a moment, after the manner of a whirlpool, and the noise of the stream no less to be heard afar off than the waterfall of *London* Bridge.

But whilst the fleet lay thus doubtful amongst great store of ice, in a place they knew not, without sight of sun, whereby to take the height, and so to know the true elevation of the pole, and without any clear of light to make perfect the coast, the General, with the captains and masters of his ships, began doubtfully to

question of the matter, and sent his pinnace aboard to hear each man's opinion, and specially of *James Beare*, Master of the *Anne Francis*, who was known to be a sufficient and skilful mariner, and, having been there the year before, had well observed the place, and drawn out cards of the coast. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtful, for that *Christopher Hall*, chief pilot of the voyage, delivered a plain and public opinion, in the hearing of the whole fleet, that he had never seen the foresaid coast before, and that he could not make it for any place of *Frobisher's* Straits, as some of the fleet supposed; and yet the lands do lie and trend so like, that the best mariners therein may be deceived.

The tenth of July, the weather still continuing thick and dark, some of the ships in the fog lost sight of the Admiral and the rest of the fleet, and, wandering to and fro, with doubtful opinion whether it were best to seek back again to seaward through great store of ice, or to follow on a doubtful course in a sea, bay, or straits they knew not, or along a coast whereof, by reason of the dark mists, they could not discern the dangers, if by chance any rock or broken ground should lie off the place, as commonly in these parts it doth. The Vice-Admiral, Captain *York*, considering the foresaid opinion of the pilot *Hall*, who was with him in the *Thomas Allen*, having lost sight of the fleet, turned back to sea again, having two other ships in company with him. Also the captain of the *Anne Francis*, having likewise lost company of the fleet, and being all alone, held it for best to turn it out to sea again until they might have clear weather to take the sun's altitude; and with incredible pain and peril got out of the doubtful place into the open sea again, being so narrowly distressed by the way by means of continual fog and ice, that they were many times ready to leap upon an island of ice to avoid

the present danger, and so hoping to prolong life awhile meant rather to die a pining death. Some hoped to save themselves on chests, and some determined to tie the hatches of the ships together, and to bind themselves with their furniture fast thereunto, and so to be towed with the shipboat ashore, which otherwise could not receive half of the company. By which means, if happily they had arrived, they should either have perished for lack of food to eat, or else should themselves have been eaten of those ravenous, bloody, and men-eating people. The rest of the fleet following the course of the General, which led them the way, passed up above sixty leagues within the said doubtful and supposed straits, having always a fair continent upon their starboard side, and a continuance still of an open sea before them.

The General albeit with the first perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the old straits, yet he persuaded the fleet always that they were in their right course and known straits. Howbeit I suppose he rather dissembled his opinion therein than otherwise, meaning by that policy, being himself led with an honourable desire of further discovery, to induce the fleet to follow him, to see a further proof of that place. And, as some of the company reported, he hath since confessed that if it had not been for the charge and care he had of the fleet and fraughted ships, he both would and could have gone through to the South Sea called *Mar del Sur*, and dissolved the long doubt of the passage which we seek to find to the rich country of *Cataya.*

Reasons to prove a Passage here.

1. Fair open way.—Of which mistaken straits, considering the circumstance, we have great cause to confirm

our opinion, to like and hope well of the passage in this place. For the aforesaid bay or sea, the further we sailed therein the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endless continuance. And where in other places we were much troubled with ice, as in the entrance of the same, so after we had sailed fifty or sixty leagues therein we had no let of ice, or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

2. GREAT INDRAFTS.—Also this place seemeth to have a marvellous great indraft, and draweth unto it most of the drift ice and other things which do fleet in the sea either to the north or eastwards of the same, as by good experience we have found.

3. A CURRENT TO THE WEST.—For here also we met with boards, laths, and divers other things driving in the sea, which was of the wreck of the ship called the bark *Dennis*, which perished amongst the ice as beforesaid, being lost at the first attempt of the entrance overthwart the Queen's Foreland in the mouth of *Frobisher's* Straits; which could by no means have been so brought thither, neither by wind nor tide, being lost so many leagues off, if by force of the said current the same had not been violently brought. For if the same had been brought thither by tide of flood, look how far the said flood had carried it, the ebb would have recarried it as far back again, and by the wind it could not so come to pass, because it was then sometime calm, and most times contrary.

4. NINE HOURS' FLOOD TO THREE HOURS' EBB.—And some mariners do affirm that they have diligently observed that there runneth in this place nine hours' flood to three ebb, which may thus come to pass by force of the said current. For whereas the sea in most places of the world doth more or less ordinarily ebb and flow once every twelve hours, with six hours' ebb and six hours' flood, so also would it do there, were it not for the violence of this hastening current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to begin before his ordinary time one hour and a half, and also to continue longer than his natural course by another hour and a half, until the force of the ebb be so great that it will no longer be resisted: according to the saying, *Naturam*

expellas furca licet, usque recurret. Although nature and natural courses be forced and resisted never so much, yet at last they will have their own sway again. Moreover it is not possible that so great course of floods and current, so high swelling tides with continuance of so deep waters, can be digested here without unburdening themselves into some open sea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the passage to be hereabouts. Also we suppose these great indrafts do grow and are made by the reverberation and reflection of that same current, which at our coming by *Ireland*, met and crossed us, of which in the first part of this discourse I spake; which coming from the bay of *Mexico*, passing by and washing the south-west parts of *Ireland*, reboundeth over to the north-east parts of the world, as *Norway*, *Iceland*, &c., where not finding any passage to an open sea, but rather being there increased by a new access, and another current meeting with it from the *Scythian* sea, passing the bay of Saint *Nicholas* westward, it doth once again rebound back, by the coasts of *Greenland*, and from thence upon *Frobisher's* Straits, being to the south-westwards of the same.

5. The Sea moveth from East to West continually.—And if that principle of philosophy be true, that *Inferiora corpora reguntur à superioribus*, that is, if inferior bodies be governed, ruled, and carried after the manner and course of the superiors, then the water being an inferior element, must needs be governed after the superior heaven, and so follow the course of *Primum mobile* from east to west.

6. Authority.—But every man that hath written or considered anything of this passage, hath more doubted the return by the same way by reason of a great downfall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts, which we also by experience partly find, than any mistrust they have of the same passage at all. For we find as it were a great downfall in this place, but yet not such but that we may return, although with much ado. For we were easier carried in one hour than we could get forth again in three. Also by another experience at another time, we found this current to deceive us in this sort: That whereas we supposed it

to be fifteen leagues off, and lying a-hull, we were brought within two leagues of the shore contrary to all expectation.

Our men that sailed furthest in the same mistaken Straits, having the mainland upon their starboard side, affirm that they met with the outlet or passage of water which cometh thorough *Frobisher's* Straits, and followeth as all one into this passage. Some of our company also affirm that they had sight of a continent upon their larboard side, being sixty leagues within the supposed Straits: howbeit, except certain islands in the entrance hereof, we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foresaid tract of land seemeth to be more fruitful and better stored of grass, deer, wild fowl, as partridges, larks, sea-mews, gulls, willmots, falcons, and tassel-gentles, ravens, bears, hares, foxes, and other things, than any other part we have yet discovered, and is more populous. And here *Luke Ward*, a gentleman of the company, traded merchandise, and did exchange knives, bells, looking-glasses, &c., with those country people, who brought him fowl, fish, bears'-skins, and such like, as their country yieldeth, for the same. Here also they saw of those greater boats of the country, with twenty persons in a-piece.

Now after the General had bestowed these many days here, not without many dangers, he returned back again. And by the way sailing along this coast, being the backside of the supposed continent of *America*, and the *Queen's Foreland*, he perceived a great sound to go thorough into *Frobisher's* Straits. Whereupon he sent the *Gabriel*, the one and twentieth of July, to prove whether they might go thorough and meet again with him in the Straits, which they did: and, as we imagined before, so the *Queen's Foreland* proved an island, as I think most of these supposed continents will. And

so he departed towards the Straits, thinking it were high time now to recover his port, and to provide the fleet of their lading, whereof he was not a little careful, as shall by the process and his resolute attempts appear. And in his return with the rest of the fleet he was so intangled by reason of the dark fog amongst a number of islands and broken ground that lie off this coast, that many of the ships came over the top of rocks, which presently after they might perceive to lie dry, having not half-a-foot water more than some of their ships did draw. And by reason they could not with a small gale of wind stem the force of the flood, whereby to get clear off the rocks, they were fain to let an anchor fall with two bent of cable together, at an hundred and odd fathom deep, where otherwise they had been by the force of the tides carried upon the rocks again, and perished. So that if God in these fortunes, as a merciful guide, beyond the expectation of man, had not carried us through, we had surely perished amidst these dangers. For being many times driven hard aboard the shore without any sight of land, until we were ready to make shipwreck thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to sound before our ships, lest we might light thereon before we could discern the same; it pleased God to give us a clear of sun and light for a short time to see and avoid thereby the danger, having been continually dark before, and presently after. Many times also by means of fog and currents being driven near upon the coast, God lent us, even at the very pinch, one prosperous breath of wind or other, whereby to double the land and avoid the peril, and when that we were all without hope of help, every man recommending himself to death, and crying out, *Lord, now help or never! Now, Lord, look down from heaven and save us sinners, or else our safety cometh too late!* Even

then the mighty Maker of Heaven, and our merciful God, did deliver us: so that they who have been partakers of these dangers do even in their souls confess, that God even by miracle hath sought to save them. Whose name be praised evermore.

Long time now the *Anne Francis* had lain beating off and on all alone before the *Queen's Foreland*, not being able to recover their port for ice, albeit many times they dangerously attempted it, for yet the ice choked up the passage, and would not suffer them to enter. And having never seen any of the fleet since twenty days past, when by reason of the thick mists they were severed in the mistaken Straits, they did now this present 23. of July overthwart a place in the Straits called *Hatton's Headland*, where they met with seven ships of the fleet again. Which good hap did not only rejoice them for themselves, in respect of the comfort which they received by such good company, but especially that by this means they were put out of doubt of their dear friends, whose safeties long time they did not a little suspect and fear. At their meeting they hailed the Admiral after the manner of the sea, and with great joy welcomed one another with a thundering volley of shot. And now every man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had passed.

The four and twentieth of July we met with the *Francis* of *Foy*, who with much ado fought way back again through the ice from out of the mistaken Straits, where, to their great peril, they proved to recover their port. They brought the first news of the Vice-Admiral Captain *York*, who many days with themselves, and the *Buss* of *Bridgewater*, was missing. They reported that they left the Vice-Admiral reasonably clear of the ice, but the other ship they greatly feared; whom they could not come to help, being themselves so hardly distressed

as never men more. Also they told us of the *Gabriel*, who having got thorough from the backside and western point of the *Queen's Foreland* into *Frobisher's* Straits, fell into their company about the Cape of *Good Hope.*

And upon the seven and twentieth day of July, the ship of *Bridgewater* got out of the ice and met with the fleet which lay off and on under *Hatton's Headland.* They reported of their marvellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ship to be so leak that they must of necessity seek harborough, having their stem so beaten within their hoodings, that they had much ado to keep themselves above water. They had, as they say, five hundred strokes at the pump in less than half a watch, being scarce two hours; their men being so over-wearied therewith, and with the former dangers, that they desired help of men from the other ships. Moreover they declared that there was nothing but ice and danger where they had been, and that the Straits within were frozen up, and that it was the most impossible thing of the world, to pass up into the Countess of *Warwick's Sound*, which was the place of our port.

The report of these dangers by these ships thus published amongst the fleet, with the remembrance of the perils past, and those present before their face, brought no small fear and terror into the hearts of many considerate men. So that some began privily to murmur against the General for this wilful manner of proceeding. Some desired to discover some harborough thereabouts to refresh themselves and reform their broken vessels for awhile, until the north and north-west winds might disperse the ice, and make the place more free to pass. Other some, forgetting themselves, spake more undutifully in this behalf, saying, that they had as lief be hanged when they came home, as without hope of safety to seek to pass, and so to perish amongst the ice.

The General, not opening his ears to the peevish passion of any private person, but chiefly respecting the accomplishment of the cause he had undertaken, wherein the chief reputation and fame of a general and captain consisteth, and calling to his remembrance the short time he had in hand to provide so great number of ships their loading, determined with this resolution to pass and recover his port, or else there to bury himself with his attempt. Notwithstanding, somewhat to appease the feeble passions of the fearfuller sort, and the better to entertain time for a season, whilst the ice might the better be dissolved, he haled on the fleet with belief that he would put them into harborough. Thereupon, whilst the ships lay off and on under *Hatton's Headland*, he sought to go in with his pinnaces amongst the islands there, as though he meant to search for harborough; where indeed he meant nothing less, but rather sought if any ore might be found in that place, as by the sequel appeared. In the meantime whilst the fleet lay thus doubtful without any certain resolution what to do, being hard aboard the lee-shore, there arose a sudden and terrible tempest at the south-south-east, whereby the ice began marvellously to gather about us. Whereupon every man, as in such case of extremity he thought best, sought the wisest way for his own safety. The most part of the fleet which were further shot up within the Straits, and so far to the leeward, as that they could not double the land, following the course of the General, who led them the way, took in their sails, and laid it a-hull amongst the ice, and so passed over the storm, and had no extremity at all, but for a short time in the same place. Howbeit the other ships which plied out to seaward, had an extreme storm for a longer season. And the nature of the place is such, that it is subject diversely to divers winds, according to the sundry

situation of the great *Alps* and mountains there, every mountain causing a several blast and pirry[1], after the manner of a *Levant.*

In this storm, being the 26. of July, there fell so much snow, with such bitter cold air, that we could not scarce see one another for the same, nor open our eyes to handle our ropes and sails; the snow being about half-a-foot deep upon the hatches of our ship, which did so wet through our poor mariners' clothes, that he that had five or six shifts of apparel had scarce one dry thread to his back. Which kind of wet and coldness, together with the overlabouring of the poor men among the ice, bred no small sickness amongst the fleet; which somewhat discouraged some of the poor men, who had not experience of the like before, every man persuading himself that the winter there must needs be extreme, where they found so unseasonable a summer. And yet, notwithstanding this cold air, the sun many times hath a marvellous force of heat amongst those mountains, insomuch that when there is no breath of wind to bring the cold air from the dispersed ice upon us, we shall be weary of the blooming heat, and then suddenly with a pirry of wind which cometh down from the hollowness of the hills, we shall have such a breath of heat brought upon our faces as though we were entered within some bath-stove or hot-house. And when the first of the pirry and blast is past, we shall have the wind suddenly anew blow cold again.

In this storm the *Anne Francis*, the *Moon*, and the *Thomas* of *Ipswich*, who found themselves able to hold it up with a sail, and could double about the cape of the *Queen's Foreland*, plied out to the seaward, holding it for better policy and safety to seek sea-room, than to hazard the continuance of the storm, the danger of the

[1] Whirlwind.

ice, and the lee-shore. And being uncertain at this time of the General's private determination, the weather being so dark that they could not discern one another, nor perceive which way he wrought, betook themselves to this course for best and safest.

The General, notwithstanding the great storm, following his own former resolution, sought by all means possible, by a shorter way, to recover his port; and where he saw the ice ever so little open, he gat in at one gap and out at another, and so himself valiantly led the way thorough before, to induce the fleet to follow after; and with incredible pain and peril at length got through the ice, and upon the 31. of July recovered his long-wished port, after many attempts and sundry times being put back, and came to anchor in the Countess of *Warwick's* Sound. In the entrance whereof, when he thought all peril past, he encountered a great island of ice, which gave the *Aid* such a blow, having a little before weighed her anchor a-cock-bill[1], that it struck the anchor-fluke through the ship's bows under the water, which caused so great a leak, that with much ado they preserved the ship from sinking.

At their arrival here they perceived two ships at anchor within the harborough, whereat they began much to marvel and greatly to rejoice, for those they knew to be the *Michael*, wherein was the Lieutenant-General, Captain *Fenton*, and the small bark called the *Gabriel* who so long time were missing, and never heard of before, whom every man made the last reckoning, never to hear of again. Here every man greatly rejoiced of their happy meeting, and welcomed one another after the sea manner with their great ordnance, and when each party had ripped up their sundry fortunes and perils past, they highly praised God, and altogether

[1] Her anchor not yet stowed, and hanging with bills cocked up.

upon their knees gave Him due humble and hearty thanks, and Master *Wolfall*, a learned man, appointed by her Majesty's Council to be their minister and preacher, made unto them a godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankful to God for their strange and miraculous deliverance in those so dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the uncertainty of man's life, willed them tc make themselves always ready as resolute men to enjoy and accept thankfully whatsoever adventure his divine providence should appoint. This Master *Wolfall*, being well seated and settled at home in his own country, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painful voyage, for the only care he had to save souls, and to reform those infidels, if it were possible, to Christianity; and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage, so well begun, might be brought to perfection; and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole year, if occasion had served, being in every necessary action as forward as the resolutest men of all. Wherefore in this behalf he may rightly be called a true pastor and minister of God's word, which for the profit of his flock spared not to venture his own life.

But to return again to Captain *Fenton's* company, and to speak somewhat of their dangers, albeit they be more than by writing can be expressed. They reported that from the night of the first storm, which was about the first day of July, until seven days before the General's arrival, which was the six and twentieth of the same, they never saw one day or hour wherein they were not troubled with continual danger and fear of death, and were twenty days almost together fast amongst the ice. They had their ship stricken through

and through on both sides, their false stem borne quite away, and could go from their ship in some places upon the ice very many miles, and might easily have passed from one island of ice to another, even to the shore. And if God had not wonderfully provided for them and their necessity, and time had not made them more cunning and wise to seek strange remedies for strange kinds of dangers, it had been impossible for them ever to have escaped. For among other devices, wheresoever they found any island of ice of greater bigness than the rest (as there be some of more than half a mile compass about, and almost forty fathom high) they commonly coveted to recover the same, and thereof to make a bulwark for their defence; whereon having moored anchor, they rode under the lee thereof for a time, being thereby guarded from the danger of the lesser driving ice. But when they must needs forego this new-found fort by means of other ice, which at length would undermine and compass them round about, and when that by heaving of the billow they were therewith like to be bruised in pieces, they used to make fast the ship unto the most firm and broad piece of ice they could find, and binding her nose fast thereunto, would fill all their sails, whereon the wind having great power, would force forward the ship; and so the ship bearing before her the ice, and so one ice driving forward another, should at length get scope and sea-room. And having by this means at length put their enemies to flight, they occupied the clear place for a pretty season among sundry mountains and Alps of ice. One there was found by measure to be sixty-five fathom above water, which, for a kind of similitude, was called *Solomon's* Porch. Some think those islands eight times so much under water as they are above, because of their monstrous weight. But now I remember I saw very strange

wonders: men walking, running, leaping and shooting upon the main seas, forty miles from any land, without any ship or other vessel under them. Also I saw fresh rivers running amidst the salt sea a hundred mile from land. Which if any man will not believe, let him know that many of our company leaped out of their ships upon islands of ice, and running there up and down, did shoot at butts upon the ice, and with their calivers did kill great seals, which use to lie and sleep upon the ice: and this ice melting above at the top by reflection of the sun, came down in sundry streams, which, uniting together, made a pretty brook able to drive a mill. The said Captain *Fenton* recovered his port ten days before any man, and spent good time in searching for mine, and he found good store thereof. He also discovered about ten miles up into the country, where he perceived neither town, village, nor likelihood of habitation, but it seemeth, as he saith, barren as the other parts which as yet we have entered upon. But their victuals and provision went so scant with them, that they had determined to return homeward within seven days after, if the fleet had not then arrived.

The General, after his arrival in the Countess's Sound, spent no time in vain, but immediately at his first landing called the chief captains of his council together, and consulted with them for the speedier execution of such things as then they had in hand. As, first, for searching and finding out good mineral for the miners to be occupied on. Then, to give good orders to be observed of the whole company on shore. And lastly, to consider for the erecting up of the fort and house for the use of them which were to abide there the whole year. For the better handling of these, and all other like important causes in this

service, it was ordained from her Majesty and the Council that the General should call unto him certain of the chief captains and gentlemen in council, to confer, consult, and determine of all occurrents in this service, whose names are as here they follow :—Captain *Fenton*, Captain *York*, Captain *Best*, Captain *Carew*, and Captain *Philpot*. And in sea causes to have as assistants *Christopher Hall* and *Charles Jackman*, being both very good pilots and sufficient mariners, whereof the one was chief pilot of the voyage, and the other for the discovery. From the place of our habitation westward Master *Selman* was appointed notary, to register the whole manner of proceeding in these affairs, that true relation thereof might be made, if it pleased her Majesty to require it.

The first of August every captain, by order from the General and his council, was commanded to bring ashore unto the Countess's Island all such gentlemen, soldiers, and miners as were under their charge, with such provision as they had of victuals, tents, and things necessary for the speedy getting together of mine and freight for the ships. The muster of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and considered, every man was set to his charge as his place and office required. The miners were appointed where to work, and the mariners discharged their ships. Upon the second of August were published and proclaimed upon the Countess of *Warwick's* Island, with sound of trumpet, certain orders of the General and his council, appointed to be observed of the company during the time of their abiding there. In the meantime, whilst the mariners plied their work, the captains sought out new mines, the gold-finers made trial of the ore, the mariners discharged their ships, the gentlemen for example sake laboured heartily, and

honestly encouraged the inferior sort to work. So that small time of that little leisure that was left to tarry, was spent in vain.

The second of August the *Gabriel* arrived, who came from the Vice-Admiral, and being distressed sore with ice, put into harborough near unto *Mount Oxford.* And now was the whole fleet arrived safely at their port excepting four, besides the ship that was lost: that is, the *Thomas Allen,* the *Anne Francis,* the *Thomas* of *Ipswich,* and the *Moon,* whose absence was some let unto the works and other proceedings, as well for that these ships were furnished with the better sort of miners as with other provision for the habitation.

The 9. of August the General with the captains of his council assembled together, and began to consider and take order for the erecting up of the house or fort for them that were to inhabit there the whole year, and that presently the masons and carpenters might go in hand therewith. First, therefore, they perused the bills of lading, what every man received into his ship, and found that there was arrived only the east side and the south side of the house, and yet not that perfect and entire; for many pieces thereof were used for fenders in many ships, and so broken in pieces, whilst they were distressed in the ice. Also after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drink and fuel to serve one hundred men, which was the number appointed first to inhabit there, because their greatest store was in the ships which were not yet arrived. Then Captain *Fenton,* seeing the scarcity of the necessary things aforesaid, was contented, and offered himself to inhabit there with sixty men. Whereupon they caused the carpenters and masons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take upon them to erect up a less house, for sixty men,

They required eight or nine weeks, if there were timber sufficient, whereas now they had but six-and-twenty days in all to remain in that country. Wherefore it was fully agreed upon and resolved by the General and his council that no habitation should be there this year. And therefore they willed Master *Selman*, the register, to set down this decree, with all their consents, for the better satisfying of her Majesty, the Lords of the Council, and the adventurers.

The *Anne Francis*, since she was parted from the fleet, in the last storm before spoken of, could never recover above five leagues within the Straits, the wind being sometime contrary, and most times the ice compassing them round about. And from that time, being about the 27. of July, they could neither hear nor have sight of any of the fleet until the third of August, when they descried a sail near unto *Mount Oxford*, with whom when they had spoken, they could understand no news of any of the fleet at all. And this was the *Thomas* of *Ipswich*, who had lain beating off and on at sea with very foul weather, and contrary winds, ever since that foresaid storm, without sight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to lose one another again. The *Moon*, being consort always with the *Anne Francis*, and keeping very good company, plied up together into the Straits, with great desire to recover their long-wished port. And they attempted as often, and passed as far as possible the wind, weather, and ice gave them leave, which commonly they found very contrary. For when the weather was clear and without fog then commonly the wind was contrary. And when it was either easterly or southerly, which would serve their turns, then had they so great a fog and dark mist therewith that either they could not discern way thorough the ice, or else the ice lay so thick together that it was

impossible for them to pass. And on the other side, when it was calm, the tides had force to bring the ice so suddenly about them, that commonly then they were most therewith distressed, having no wind to carry them from the danger thereof.

And by the sixth of August, being with much ado got up as high as *Leicester* Point, they had good hope to find the souther shore clear, and so to pass up towards their port. But being there becalmed and lying a-hull openly upon the great bay which cometh out of the mistaken straits before spoken of, they were so suddenly compassed with ice round about by means of the swift tides which run in that place, that they were never afore so hardly beset as now. And, in seeking to avoid these dangers in the dark weather, the *Anne Francis* lost sight of the other two ships. Who, being likewise hardly distressed, signified their danger, as they since reported, by shooting off their ordnance; which the other could not hear, nor, if they had heard, could have given them any remedy, being so busily occupied to wind themselves out of their own troubles.

The flee-boat called the *Moon* was here heaved above the water with the force of the ice, and received a great leak thereby. Likewise the *Thomas* of *Ipswich* and the *Anne Francis* were sore bruised at that instant, having their false stems borne away and their ship-sides strucken quite through.

Now, considering the continual dangers and contraries, and the little leisure that they had left to tarry in these parts, besides that every night the ropes of their ships were so frozen that a man could not handle them without cutting his hands, together with the great doubt they had of the fleet's safety, thinking it an impossibility for them to pass unto their port, as well for that they saw themselves as for that they heard by the former

report of the ships which had proved before, who affirmed that the Straits were all frozen over within, they thought it now very high time to consider of their estates and safeties, that were yet left together. And hereupon the captains and masters of these ships desired the captain of the *Anne Francis* to enter into consideration with them of these matters. Wherefore Captain *Tanfield*, of the *Thomas* of *Ipswich*, with his pilot *Richard Cox*, and Captain *Upcote*, of the *Moon*, with his master, *John Lakes*, came aboard the *Anne Francis* the 8. of August to consult of these causes. And being assembled together in the captain's cabin, sundry doubts were there alleged. For the fearfuller sort of mariners, being over-tired with the continued labour of the former dangers, coveted to return homeward, saying that they would not again tempt God so much, who had given them so many warnings and delivered them from so wonderful dangers; that they rather desired to lose wages, freight and all, than to continue and follow such desperate fortunes. Again, their ships were so leak, and the men so weary, that, to amend the one and refresh the other, they must of necessity seek into harborough.

But on the other side it was argued again to the contrary that to seek into harborough thereabouts was but to subject themselves to double dangers. If happily they escaped the dangers of the rocks in their entering, yet, being in, they were nevertheless subject there to the danger of the ice; which with the swift tides and currents is carried in and out in most harboroughs thereabouts, and may thereby gall their cables asunder, drive them upon the shore, and bring them to much trouble. Also the coast is so much subject to broken ground and rocks, especially in the mouth and entrance of every harborough, that albeit the channel be sounded

over and over again, yet are you never the nearer to discern the dangers. For the bottom of the sea holding like shape and form as the land, being full of hills, dales, and ragged rocks, suffereth you not by your soundings to know and keep a true guess of the depth. For you shall sound upon the side or hollowness of one hill or rock under water and have 100, 50, or 40 fathom depth: and before the next cast, yere you shall be able to heave your lead again, you shall be upon the top thereof, and come aground, to your utter confusion. Another reason against going to harborough was that the cold air did threaten a sudden freezing up of the sounds, seeing that every night there was new congealed ice, even of that water which remained within the ships. And therefore it should seem to be more safe to lie off and on at sea, than for lack of wind to bring them forth of harborough, to hazard by sudden frosts to be shut up the whole year.

After many such dangers and reasons alleged, and large debating of these causes on both sides, the captain of the *Anne Francis* delivered his opinion unto the company to this effect. First, concerning the question of returning home, he thought it so much dishonourable as not to grow in any farther question; and again, to return home at length, as at length they must needs, and not to be able to bring a certain report of the fleet, whether they were living or lost, or whether any of them had recovered their port or not in the Countess's Sound, as it was to be thought the most part would if they were living, he said that it would be so great an argument either of want of courage or discretion in them, as he resolved rather to fall into any danger than so shamefully consent to return home; protesting that it should never be spoken of him that he would ever return without doing his endeavour to find the fleet, and

know the certainty of the General's safety. He put his company in remembrance of a pinnace of five ton burden, which he had within his ship, which was carried in pieces and unmade-up, for the use of those which should inhabit there the whole year; the which if they could find means to join together, he offered himself to prove before therewith, whether it were possible for any boat to pass for ice, whereby the ship might be brought in after, and might also thereby give true notice if any of the fleet were arrived at their port or not.

But notwithstanding, for that he well perceived that the most part of his company were addicted to put into harborough, he was willing the rather for these causes somewhat to incline thereunto. As first, to search along the same coast and the sounds thereabouts, he thought it to be to good purpose, for that it was likely to find some of the fleet there, which, being leak, and sore bruised with the ice, were the rather thought likely to be put into an ill harborough, being distressed with foul weather in the last storm, than to hazard their uncertain safeties amongst the ice; for about this place they lost them, and left the fleet then doubtfully questioning of harborough.

It was likely, also, that they might find some fit harborough thereabouts, which might be behoveful for them against another time. It was not likewise impossible to find some ore or mine thereabouts wherewithal to freight their ships, which would be more commodious in this place, for the nearness to seaward, and for a better outlet than further within the Straits; being likely here always to load in a shorter time, howsoever the Strait should be pestered with ice within. So that if it might come to pass that thereby they might either find the fleet, mine, or convenient harborough, any of these three would serve their present turns, and give some hope

and comfort unto their companies, which now were altogether comfortless. But if that all fortune should fall out so contrary that they could neither recover their port, nor any of these aforesaid helps, that yet they would not depart the coast as long as it was possible for them to tarry there, but would lie off and on at sea athwart the place. Therefore his final conclusion was set down thus. First, that the *Thomas* of *Ipswich* and the *Moon* should consort and keep company together carefully with the *Anne Francis*, as near as they could; and, as true Englishmen and faithful friends, should supply one another's want in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, every ship to send off his boat with a sufficient pilot, to search out and sound the harboroughs for the safe bringing in of their ships. And being arrived in harborough, where they might find convenient place for the purpose, they resolved forthwith to join and set together the pinnace, wherewithal the captain of the *Anne Francis* might, according to his former determination, discover up into the Straits.

After these determinations thus set down, the *Thomas* of *Ipswich* the night following lost company of the other ships, and afterward shaped a contrary course homeward. Which fell out, as it manifestly appeared, very much against their captain Master *Tanfield's* mind; as by due examination before the Lords of her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council it hath since been proved, to the great discredit of the pilot *Cox*, who specially persuaded his company, against the opinion of his said captain, to return home.

And, as the captain of the *Anne Francis* doth witness, even at their conference together Captain *Tanfield* told him that he did not a little suspect the said pilot *Cox*, saying that he had opinion in the man neither of honest duty, manhood, nor constancy. Notwithstanding the

said ship's departure, the captain of the *Anne Francis*, being desirous to put in execution his former resolutions, went with his ship-boat, being accompanied also with the *Moon's* skiff, to prove amongst the islands which lie under *Hatton's Headland*, if any convenient harborough, or any knowledge of the fleet, or any good ore, were there to be found. The ships lying off and on at sea the while under sail, searching through many sounds, they saw them all full of many dangers and broken ground. Yet one there was, which seemed an indifferent place to harbour in, and which they did very diligently sound over, and searched again.

Here the said captain found a great black island, whereunto he had good liking. And certifying the company thereof, they were somewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his words, rowed cheerfully unto the place; where, when they arrived, they found such plenty of black ore of the same sort which was brought into *England* this last year, that if the goodness might answer the great plenty thereof, it was to be thought that it might reasonably suffice all the gold-gluttons of the world. This island the captain, for cause of his good hap, called after his own name, *Best's Blessing;* and with these good tidings returning aboard his ship the 9. of August, about ten of the clock at night, he was joyfully welcomed of his company, who before were discomforted, and greatly expected some better fortune at his hands.

The next day, being the 10. of August, the weather reasonably fair, they put into the foresaid harborough, having their boat for their better security sounding before their ship. But, for all the care and diligence that could be taken in sounding the channel over and over again, the *Anne Francis* came aground upon a sunken rock within the harborough, and lay thereon more than

half dry until the next flood, when, by God's almighty providence, contrary almost to all expectation, they came afloat again, being forced all that time to underset their ship with their main-yard, which otherwise was likely to overset and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had above two thousand strokes together at the pump, before they could make their ship free of the water again, so sore she was bruised by lying upon the rocks. The *Moon* came safely, and rode at anchor by the *Anne Francis*, whose help in their necessity they could not well have missed.

Now whilst the mariners were rummaging their ships, and mending that which was amiss, the miners followed their labour for getting together of sufficient quantity of ore, and the carpenters endeavoured to do their best for the making up of the boat or pinnace. Which to bring to pass, they wanted two special and most necessary things; that is, certain principal timbers that are called knees, which are the chiefest strength of any boat, and also nails wherewithal to join the planks together. Whereupon, having by chance a smith amongst them, and yet unfurnished of his necessary tools to work and make nails withal, they were fain of a gun-chamber to make an anvil to work upon, and to use a pickaxe instead of a sledge to beat withal, and also to occupy two small bellows instead of one pair of greater smith's bellows. And for lack of small iron for the easier making of the nails, they were forced to break their tongs, gridiron, and fire-shovel in pieces.

The 11. of August the captain of the *Anne Francis*, taking the master of his ship with him, went up to the top of *Hatton's Headland*, which is the highest land of all the Straits, to the end to descry the situation of the country underneath, and to take a true plot of the place, whereby also to see what store of ice was yet left in the

Straits, as also to search what mineral matter or fruit that soil might yield. And the rather for the honour the said captain doth owe to that honourable name which himself gave thereunto the last year, in the highest part of this headland he caused his company to make a column or cross of stone, in token of Christian possession. In this place there is plenty of black ore and divers pretty stones.

The 17. of August the captains with their companies chased and killed a great white bear, which adventured and gave a fierce assault upon twenty men being weaponed. And he served them for good meat many days. The 18. of August, the pinnace with much ado being set together, the said Captain *Best* determined to depart up the Straits, to prove and make trial, as before was pretended; some of his company greatly persuading him to the contrary, and specially the carpenter that set the same together, who said he would not adventure himself therein for five hundred pounds, for that the boat hung together but only by the strength of the nails, and lacked some of the principal knees and timbers. These words somewhat discouraged some of the company which should have gone therein. Whereupon the captain, as one not altogether addicted to his own self-will, but somewhat foreseeing how it might be afterwards spoken, if contrary fortune should happen him, *Lo, he hath followed his own opinion and desperate resolutions, and so thereafter it is befallen him!*—calling the master and mariners of best judgment together, declared unto them how much the cause imported him in his credit, to seek out the General, as well to confer with him of some causes of weight as otherwise to make due examination and trial of the goodness of the ore, whereof they had no assurance but by guess of the eye, and it was well like the other; which so to carry home,

not knowing the goodness thereof, might be as much as if they should bring so many stones. And therefore he desired them to deliver their plain and honest opinion, whether the pinnace were sufficient for him so to adventure in or no. It was answered that by careful heed-taking thereunto amongst the ice and the foul weather, the pinnace might suffice. And hereupon the master's mate of the *Anne Francis*, called *John Gray*, manfully and honestly offering himself unto his captain in this adventure and service, gave cause to others of his mariners to follow the attempt.

And upon the 19. of August the said captain, being accompanied with Captain *Upcote*, of the *Moon*, and eighteen persons in the small pinnace, having convenient portion of victuals and things necessary, departed upon the said pretended voyage, leaving their ship at anchor in a good readiness for the taking in of their freight. And having little wind to sail withal, they plied alongst the souther shore, and passed above thirty leagues, having the only help of man's labour with oars; and so intending to keep that shore aboard until they were got up to the farthest and narrowest of the Straits, minded there to cross over, and to search likewise alongst the northerland unto the Countess's Sound, and from thence to pass all that coast along, whereby if any of the fleet had been distressed by wreck of rock or ice, by that means they might be perceived of them, and so they thereby to give them such help and relief as they could. They did greatly fear and ever suspect that some of the fleet were surely cast away and driven to seek sour sallets amongst the cold cliffs.

And being shot up about forty leagues within the Straits, they put over towards the norther shore, which was not a little dangerous for their small boats; and by means of a sudden flaw were driven and fain to seek

harborough in the night amongst all the rocks and broken ground of *Gabriel's Islands*, a place so named within the Straits above the Countess of *Warwick's Sound*. And by the way where they landed they did find certain great stones set up by the country people, as it seemed, for marks; where they also made many crosses of stone, in token that Christians had been there. The 22. of August they had sight of the *Countess's Sound*, and made the place perfect from the top of a hill; and, keeping along the norther shore, perceived the smoke of a fire under a hill's side; whereof they diversely deemed. When they came nearer the place they perceived people which wafted unto them, as it seemed, with a flag or ensign. And because the country people had used to do the like when they perceived any of our boats to pass by, they suspected them to be the same. And coming somewhat nearer, they might perceive certain tents, and discern this ensign to be of mingled colours, black and white, after the English fashion. But because they could see no ship, nor likelihood of harborough within five or six leagues about, and knew that none of our men were wont to frequent those parts, they could not tell what to judge thereof; but imagined that some of the ships, being carried so high with the storm and mists, had made shipwrack amongst the ice or the broken islands there, and were spoiled by the country people, who might use the sundry-coloured flag for a policy, to bring them likewise within their danger. Whereupon the said captain with his companies resolved to recover the same ensign, if it were so, from those base people, or else to lose their lives and all together. In the end they discerned them to be their countrymen, and then they deemed them to have lost their ships, and so to be gathered together for their better strength. On the

other side, the company ashore feared that the captain, having lost his ship, came to seek forth the fleet for his relief in his poor pinnace: so that their extremities caused each part to suspect the worst.

The captain, now with his pinnace being come near the shore, commanded his boat carefully to be kept afloat, lest in their necessity they might win the same from him, and seek first to save themselves. For every man in that case is next himself[1]. They hailed one another according to the manner of the sea, and demanded, *What cheer?* And either party answered the other *that all was well.* Whereupon there was a sudden and joyful outshoot, with great flinging up of caps, and a brave volley of shot to welcome one another. And truly it was a most strange case to see how joyful and glad every party was to see themselves meet in safety again, after so strange and incredible dangers. Yet, to be short, as their dangers were great, so their God was greater. And here the company were working upon new mines, which Captain *York*, being here arrived not long before, had found out in this place; and it is named the Countess of *Sussex'* Mine.

After some conference with our friends here, the captain of the *Anne Francis* departed towards the Countess of *Warwick's Sound*, to speak with the General, and to have trial made of such metal as he had brought thither, by the gold-finers. And so he determined to dispatch again towards his ship. And having spoken with the General, he received orders for all causes, and direction as well for the bringing up of his ship to the Countess's Sound, as also to freight his ship with the same ore which he himself had found; which, upon trial made, was supposed to be very good.

[1] Proximus sum egomet mihi. (Hakluyt.)

The 23. of August the said captain met together with the other captains (commissioners in council with the General) aboard the *Aid*; where they considered and consulted of sundry causes, which being particularly registered by the notary, were appointed where and how to be done against another year.

The 24. of August the General, with two pinnaces and good numbers of men, went to *Beare's Sound*, commanding the said captain with his pinnace to attend the service, to see if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people. For sundry times they shewed themselves busy thereabouts, sometimes with seven or eight boats in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company, which were working there at the mines, in no great numbers. But when they perceived any of our ships to ride in that road, being belike more amazed at the countenance of a ship, and a more number of men, they did never shew themselves there again at all. Wherefore our men sought with their pinnaces to compass about the island where they did use, supposing there suddenly to intercept some of them. But before our men could come near, having belike some watch in the top of the mountains, they conveyed themselves privily away, and left, as it should seem, one of their great darts behind them for haste, which we found near to a place of their caves and housing. Therefore, though our General were very desirous to have taken some of them to have brought into *England*, they, being now grown more wary by their former losses, would not at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the same day the captain of the *Anne Francis* departed thence and set his course over the Straits towards *Hatton's Headland*, being about 15 leagues over, and returned aboard his ship the 25. of August,

to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his coming, where he found his ships ready rigged and loaden. Wherefore he departed from thence again the next morning towards the Countess's Sound, where he arrived the 28. of the same. By the way he set his miners ashore at *Beare's Sound*, for the better despatch and gathering the ore together; for that some of the ships were behindhand with their freight, the time of the year passing suddenly away.

The 30. of August the *Anne Francis* was brought aground, and had eight great leaks mended which she had received by means of the rocks and ice. This day the masons finished a house which Captain *Fenton* caused to be made of lime and stone upon the Countess of *Warwick's* Island, to the end we might prove, against the next year, whether the snow could overwhelm it, the frost break it up, or the people dismember the same. And the better to allure those brutish and uncivil people to courtesy against other times of our coming, we left therein divers of our country toys, as bells and knives, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessary use, and the other for the great pleasure thereof. Also pictures of men and women in lead, men on horseback, looking-glasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in the house was made an oven, and bread left baked therein for them to see and taste. We buried the timber of our pretended fort. Also here we sowed peas, corn, and other grain, to prove the fruitfulness of the soil against the next year.

Master *Wolfall* on *Winter's Furnace* preached a godly sermon; which being ended, he celebrated also a communion upon the land, at the partaking whereof was the captain of the *Anne Francis*, and many other gentlemen and soldiers, mariners, and miners with him. The celebration of the Divine Mystery was the first sign,

seal, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and passion ever known in these quarters. The said Master *Wolfall* made sermons, and celebrated the communion at sundry other times, in several and sundry ships, because the whole company could never meet together at any one place. The fleet now being in some good readiness for their lading, the General calling together the gentlemen and captains to consult, told them that he was very desirous that some further discovery should be attempted, and that he would not only by God's help bring home his ships laden with ore, but also meant to bring some certificate of a further discovery of the country, which thing to bring to pass, having sometime therein consulted, they found very hard and almost invincible. And considering that already they had spent some time in searching out the trending and fashion of the mistaken straits, therefore it could not be said, but that by this voyage they have notice of a further discovery, and that the hope of the passage thereby is much furthered and increased, as appeared before in the discourse thereof. Yet notwithstanding if any means might be further devised, the captains were contented and willing, as the General should appoint and command, to take any enterprise in hand. Which, after long debating, was found a thing very impossible, and that rather consultation was to be had of returning homeward, especially for these causes following. First, the dark foggy mists, the continual falling snow and stormy weather which they commonly were vexed with, and now daily ever more and more increased, have no small argument of the winter's drawing near. And also the frost every night was so hard congealed within the Sound, that if by evil hap they should be long kept in with contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared that they should be shut up there

fast the whole year; which, being utterly unprovided, would be their utter destruction. Again, drink was so scant throughout all the fleet by means of the great leakage, that not only the provision which was laid in for the habitation was wanting and wasted, but also each ship's several provisions spent and lost; which many of our company to their great grief found in their return, since, for all the way homewards, they drank nothing but water. And the great cause of this leakage and wasting was, for that the great timber and sea-coal, which lay so weighty upon the barrels, brake, bruised, and rotted the hoops in sunder. Yet, notwithstanding these reasons alleged, the General himself, willing the rest of the gentlemen and captains every man to look to his several charge and lading, that against a day appointed, they should be all in readiness to set homeward, went in a pinnace, and discovered further northward in the Straits, and found that by *Beare's Sound* and *Hall's Island* the land was not firm, as it was first supposed, but all broken islands in manner of an *archipelagus*. And so, with other secret intelligence to himself, he returned to the fleet. Where, presently upon his arrival at the Countess's Sound, he began to take order for their returning homeward, and first caused certain Articles to be proclaimed, for the better keeping of orders and courses in their return, which Articles were delivered to every captain.

Having now received Articles and directions for our return homewards, all other things being in forwardness and in good order, the last day of August the whole fleet departed from the Countess's Sound, excepting the *Judith*, and the *Anne Francis*, who stayed for the taking in of fresh water, and came the next day and met the fleet lying off and on athwart *Beare's Sound*; who stayed for the General, which then was gone

ashore to despatch the two barks and the *Buss* of *Bridgewater*, for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboard. The captain of the *Anne Francis*, having most part of his company ashore, the first of September went also to *Beare's Sound* in his pinnace to fetch his men aboard. But the wind grew so great immediately upon their landing, that the ships at sea were in great danger, and some of them forcibly put from their anchors, and greatly feared to be utterly lost, as the *Hopewell*, wherein was Captain *Carew*, and others. Who could not tell on which side their danger was most: for having mighty rocks threatening on the one side, and driving islands of cutting ice on the other side, they greatly feared to make shipwreck, the ice driving so near them that it touched their boltsprit. And by means of the sea that was grown so high, they were not able to put to sea with their small pinnaces to recover their ships. And again, the ships were not able to tarry or lie athwart for them, by means of the outrageous winds and swelling seas. The General willed the captain of the *Anne Francis*, with his company, for that night to lodge aboard the *Buss* of *Bridgewater*, and went himself with the rest of his men aboard the barks. But their numbers were so great, and the provision of the barks so scant, that they pestered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be fair, whereby they might recover their ships. But in the morning following it was much worse, for the storm continued greater, the sea being more swollen, and the fleet gone quite out of sight. So that now their doubts began to grow great: for the ship of *Bridgewater*, which was of greatest receipt, and whereof they had best hope and made most account, rode so far to leeward of the harborough's mouth, that they were

not able for the rocks, that lay between the wind and them, to lead it out to sea with a sail. And the barks were already so pestered with men, and so slenderly furnished with provision, that they had scarce meat for six days for such numbers.

The General in the morning departed to sea in the *Gabriel* to seek the fleet, leaving the *Buss* of *Bridgewater* and the *Michael* behind in *Beare's Sound.* The *Buss* set sail, and thought by turning in the narrow channel within the harborough to get to windward: but being put to leeward more, by that means was fain to come to anchor for her better safety, amongst a number of rocks, and there left in great danger of ever getting forth again. The *Michael* set sail to follow the General, and could give the *Buss* no relief, although they earnestly desired the same. And the captain of the *Anne Francis* was left in hard election of two evils: either to abide his fortune with the *Buss* of *Bridgewater*, which was doubtful of ever getting forth, or else to be towed in his small pinnace at the stern of the *Michael* thorough the raging seas, for that the bark was not able to receive or relieve half his company, wherein his danger was not a little perilous.

So after he resolved to commit himself with all his company unto that fortune of God and sea; and was dangerously towed at the stern of the bark for many miles, until at length they espied the *Anne Francis* under sail, hard under their lee, which was no small comfort unto them. For no doubt, both those and a great number more had perished for lack of victuals, and convenient room in the barks, without the help of the said ship. But the honest care that the master of the *Anne Francis* had of his captain, and the good regard of duty towards his General, suffered him not to depart; but honestly abode to hazard a dangerous

road all the night long, notwithstanding all the stormy weather, when all the fleet besides departed. And the pinnace came no sooner aboard the ship, and the men entered, but she presently shivered and fell in pieces and sunk at the ship's stern, with all the poor men's furniture: so weak was the boat with towing, and so forcible was the sea to bruise her in pieces. But, as God would, the men were all saved.

At this present in this storm many of the fleet were dangerously distressed, and were severed almost all asunder. Yet, thanks be to God, all the fleet arrived safely in *England* about the first of October, some in one place and some in another. But amongst other, it was most marvellous how the *Buss* of *Bridgewater* got away. Who being left behind the fleet in great danger of never getting forth, was forced to seek a way northward through an unknown channel full of rocks, upon the backside of *Beare's Sound*; and there by good hap found out a way into the North Sea. A very dangerous attempt: save that necessity, which hath no law, forced them to try masteries. This aforesaid North Sea, is the same which lieth upon the backside of *Frobisher's* Straits, where first the General himself in his pinnaces, and after some other of our company have discovered, as they affirm, a great foreland; where they would have also a great likelihood of the greatest passage towards the South Sea, or *Mar del Sur.*

The *Buss* of *Bridgewater*, as she came homeward, to the south-eastward of *Frisland*, discovered a great island in the latitude of 57 degrees and an half, which was never yet found before, and sailed three days along the coast, the land seeming to be fruitful, full of woods, and a champaign country [1].

There died in the whole fleet in all this voyage not

[1] See Note at end (p. 192).

above forty persons; which number is not great, considering how many ships were in the fleet, and how strange fortunes we passed.

Having now sufficiently and truly set forth the whole circumstance, and particular handling of every occurrent in the three voyages of our worthy General, Captain *Frobisher*, it shall not be from the purpose to speak somewhat in general of the nature of this country called *Meta Incognita*, and the condition of the savages there inhabiting.

First, therefore, touching the topographical description of the place. It is now found in the last voyage, that *Queen Elizabeth's Cape*, being situate in latitude at 61 degrees and a-half, which before was supposed to be part of the firm land of *America*, and also all the rest of the south side of *Frobisher's* Straits, are all several islands and broken land; and likewise so will all the north side of the said Straits fall out to be, as I think. And some of our company being entered above 60 leagues within the mistaken straits in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainly that they had descried the firm land of *America* towards the south, which I think will fall out so to be.

These broken lands and islands, being very many in number, do seem to make there an *archipelagus*; which, as they all differ in greatness, form, and fashion one from another, so are they in goodness, colour, and soil, much unlike. They are all very high lands, mountains, and in most parts covered with snow even all the summer long. The norther lands have less store of snow, more grass, and are more plain countries; the cause whereof may be, for that the souther islands receive all the snow that the cold winds and piercing air bring out of the north. And contrarily, the north parts receive more warm blasts of milder air from the

south; whereupon may grow the cause why the people covet to inhabit more upon the north parts than the south, as far as we can yet by our experience perceive they do. These people I judge to be a kind of *Tartar*, or rather a kind of *Samoed*, of the same sort and condition of life that the *Samoeds* be to the north-eastwards beyond *Muscovy*. Who are called *Samoeds*, which is as much to say, in the *Muscovy* tongue, as 'eaters of themselves'; and so the Russians, their borderers, do name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine, with whom I did sometime travel in the parts of *Muscovy*, who hath great experience of those *Samoeds* and people of the north-east, I find that in all their manner of living, those people of the north-east and these of the north-west are like. They are of the colour of a ripe olive, which how it may come to pass, being born in so cold a climate, I refer to the judgment of others; for they are naturally born children of the same colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell under the equinoctial line.

They are men very active and nimble. They are a strong people and very warlike, for in our sight upon the tops of the hills they would often muster themselves, and, after the manner of a skirmish, trace their ground very nimbly, and manage their bows and darts with great dexterity. They go clad in coats made of the skins of beasts, as of seals, deer, bears, foxes, and hares. They have also some garments of feathers, being made of the cases of fowls, finely sewed and compact together. Of all which sorts we brought home with us into *England*, which we found in their tents. In summer they use to wear the hairy side of their coats outward, and sometime go naked for too much heat. And in winter, as by signs they have declared, they wear four or five fold upon their bodies with the

hair, for warmth, turned inwards. Hereby it appeareth, that the air there is not indifferent, but either it is fervent hot or else extreme cold, and far more excessive in both qualities than the reason of the climate should yield; for there it is colder, being under 62 degrees in latitude, than it is at *Wardhouse*, in the voyage to St. *Nicholas* in *Muscovy*, being at above 72 degrees in latitude. The reason hereof perhaps may be, that this *Meta Incognita* is much frequented and vexed with eastern and north-eastern winds, which from the sea and ice bringeth often an intolerable cold air, which was also the cause that this year our Straits were so long shut up with so great store of ice. But there is hope and likelihood, that further within the Straits it will be more constant and temperate weather.

These people are in nature very subtle and sharp-witted, ready to conceive our meaning by signs, and to make answer well to be understood again. And if they have not seen the thing whereof you ask them, they will wink, or cover their eyes with their hands, as who would say, it hath been hid from their sight. If they understand you not whereof you ask them, they will stop their ears. They will teach us the names of each thing in their language which we desire to learn, and are apt to learn anything of us. They delight in music above measure, and will keep time and stroke to any tune which you shall sing, both with their voice, head, hand, and feet, and will sing the same tune aptly after you. They will row with our oars in our boats, and keep a true stroke with our mariners, and seem to take great delight therein. They live in caves of the earth, and hunt for their dinners or prey, even as the bear or other wild beasts do. They eat raw flesh and fish, and refuse no meat, howsoever it be stinking. They are desperate in their fight, sullen of nature, and ravenous

in their manner of feeding. Their sullen and desperate nature doth herein manifestly appear, that a company of them being environed by our men on the top of a high cliff, so that they could by no means escape our hands, finding themselves in this case distressed, chose rather to cast themselves headlong down the rocks into the sea, and so be bruised and drowned, rather than to yield themselves to our men's mercies.

For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withal, they have darts, slings, bows, and arrows headed with sharp stones, bones, and some with iron. They are exceeding friendly and kind-hearted one to the other, and mourn greatly at the loss or harm of their fellows; and express their grief of mind, when they part one from another, with a mournful song and dirges. They are very shamefaced, * * * and very chaste in the manner of their living. For when the man, which we brought from thence into *England* the last voyage, should put off his coat, * * * he would not suffer the woman to be present, but put her forth of his cabin. And in all the space of two or three months, while the man lived in company of the woman, there was never anything seen or perceived between them, more than might have passed between brother and sister. But the woman was in all things very serviceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was sick; and he likewise in all the meats which they did eat together, would carve unto her of the sweetest, fattest, and best morsels they had. They wondered much at all our things, and were afraid of our horses and other beasts out of measure. They began to grow more civil, familiar, pleasant, and docible amongst us in very short time.

They have boats made of leather, and covered clean over, saving one place in the middle to sit in, planked within with timber; and they use to row therein with

one oar, more swiftly a great deal than we in our boats can do with twenty. They have one sort of greater boats wherein they can carry above twenty persons; and have a mast with a sail thereon, which sail is made of thin skins or bladders, sewed together with the sinews of fishes. They are good fishermen, and in their small boats, being disguised with their coats of seals' skins, they deceive the fish, who take them rather for their fellow seals, than for deceiving men. They are good markmen. With their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a duck, or any other fowl, in the head, and commonly in the eye. When they shoot at a great fish with any of their darts, they use to tie a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them again; and the fish, not able to carry it so easily away, for that the bladder doth buoy the dart, will at length be weary, and die therewith. They use to traffic and exchange their commodities with some other people, of whom they have such things as their miserable country, and ignorance of art to make, denieth them to have; as bars of iron, heads of iron for their darts, needles made four-square, certain buttons of copper, which they use to wear upon their foreheads for ornament, as our ladies in the Court of *England* do use great pearl. Also they have made signs unto us, that they have seen gold, and such bright plates of metals, which are used for ornaments amongst some people with whom they have conference. We found also in their tents a Guinea-bean of red colour, the which doth usually grow in the hot countries; whereby it appeareth they trade with other nations which dwell far off, or else themselves are great travellers.

They have nothing in use among them to make fire withal, saving a kind of heath and moss which groweth there; and they kindle their fire with continual rubbing

and fretting one stick against another, as we do with flints. They draw with dogs in sleds upon the ice, and remove their tents therewithal, wherein they dwell in summer, when they go hunting for their prey and provision against winter. They do sometimes parboil their meat a little and seethe the same in keetles made of beasts' skins; they have also pans cut and made of stone very artificially. They use pretty gins wherewith they take fowl. The women carry their sucking children at their backs, and do feed them with raw flesh, which first they do a little chaw in their own mouths. The women have their faces marked or painted over with small blue spots; they have black and long hair on their heads, and trim the same in a decent order. The men have but little hair on their faces, and very thin beards. For their common drink, they eat ice to quench their thirst withal. Their earth yieldeth no grain or fruit of sustenance for man, or almost for beast, to live upon; and the people will eat grass and shrubs of the ground, even as our kine do. They have no wood growing in their country thereabouts, and yet we find they have some timber among them; which we think doth grow far off to the southwards of this place, about *Canada*, or some other part of Newfoundland. For there, belike, the trees standing on the cliffs of the sea-side, by the weight of ice and snow in winter overcharging them with weight, when the summer's thaw cometh above, and also the sea underfretting them beneath, which winneth daily of the land, they are undermined and fall down from those cliffs into the sea, and with the tides and currents are driven to and fro upon the coasts further off; and, by conjecture, are taken up here by these country people, to serve them to plank and strengthen their boats withal, and to make darts, bows, and arrows, and such other things necessary

for their use. And of this kind of drift wood we find all the seas over great store; which being cut or sawed asunder, by reason of long driving in the sea is eaten of worms, and full of holes, of which sort theirs is found to be.

We have not yet found any venomous serpent or other hurtful thing in these parts; but there is a kind of small fly or gnat that stingeth and offendeth sorely, leaving many red spots in the face, and other places where she stingeth. They have snow and hail in the best time of their summer, and the ground frozen three fathom deep.

These people are great enchanters, and use many charms of witchcraft; for when their heads do ache they tie a great stone with a string unto a stick, and with certain prayers and words done to the stick, they lift up the stone from ground, which sometimes with all a man's force they cannot stir, and sometimes again they lift as easily as a feather; and hope thereby with certain ceremonious words to have ease and help. And they made us by signs to understand, lying grovelling with their faces upon the ground, and making a noise downward, that they worship the devil under them.

They have great store of deer, bears, hares, foxes, and innumerable numbers of sundry sorts of wild fowl, as sea-mews, gulls, willmots, ducks, &c., whereof our men killed in one day 1500. They have also store of hawks, as falcons, tassels, &c., whereof two alighted upon one of our ships at their return, and were brought into *England*; which some think will prove very good. There are also great store of ravens, larks, and partridges, whereof the country people feed. All these fowls are far thicker clothed with down and feathers, and have thicker skins, than any in *England* have; for as that country is colder, so nature hath provided

a remedy thereunto. Our men have eaten of their bears, hares, partridges, larks, and of their wild fowl, and find them reasonable good meat, but not so delectable as ours. Their wild fowl must be all flain, their skins are so thick; and they taste best fried in pans. The country seemeth to be much subject to earthquakes. The air is very subtle, piercing and searching; so that if any corrupted or infected body, especially with the disease called *Morbus Gallicus*, come there, it will presently break forth and shew itself, and cannot there by any kind of salve or medicine be cured. Their longest summer's day is of a great length, without any dark night, so that in July all the night long we might perfectly and easily write and read whatsoever had pleased us; which lightsome nights were very beneficial unto us, being so distressed with abundance of ice as we were. The sun setteth to them in the evening at a quarter of an hour after ten of the clock, and riseth again in the morning at three-quarters of an hour after one of the clock; so that in summer their sun shineth to them twenty hours and a-half, and in the night is absent three hours and a-half. And although the sun be absent these three hours and a-half, yet it is not dark that time, for that the sun is never above three or four degrees under the edge of their horizon; the cause is, that the tropic of *Cancer* doth cut their horizon at very uneven and oblique angles. But the moon at any time of the year being in *Cancer*, having north latitude, doth make a full revolution above their horizon, so that sometimes they see the moon above 24 hours together. Some of our company, of the more ignorant sort, thought we might continually have seen the sun and the moon, had it not have been for two or three high mountains.

The people are now become so wary, and so circum-

spect by reason of their former losses, that by no means we can apprehend any of them, although we attempted often in this last voyage. But to say truth, we could not bestow any great time in pursuing them, because of our great business in lading, and other things.

Note on the Supposed Island seen from the Buss of Bridgewater (p. 183).

The island was never again seen, and certainly does not exist. Best's 'fruitful champaign country, full of woods,' is manifestly an exaggeration; and according to Thomas Wiars, a passenger on board the Buss, whose account is given by Hakluyt (vol. iii. p. 44), the supposed coast, thickly encumbered with icebergs, was only viewed from a considerable distance. The island was long supposed to have been submerged by an earthquake; and hence the 'Sunk Island of Buss' was sometimes marked on charts. Ross, however, sounded over the supposed site of the island, and found no trace of it. We are compelled to conclude that it was either an immense pack of floating ice, or merely the southern extremity of Greenland, some promontory on the western coast, further northward, having been mistaken for Cape Farewell. The latter hypothesis, however, does not satisfactorily harmonize with the account of Wiars, and requires us to suppose that the seamen of the Buss made a mistake in observing the latitude to the extent of two degrees. This is not impossible, but scarcely probable: the floating ice appears to afford, on the whole, the best explanation of the difficulty. Packs of floating ice much larger than the supposed island, which was estimated to be twenty-five leagues long, are sometimes observed in these seas. 'Such a field of ice,' says Crantz (History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 31), 'at the first appearance presents a prospect resembling a country with hills and valleys, towns and villages, houses, churches, and towers.'


FRANCISCUS DRAKE · MILES AURATUS ·

DRAKE (b. 1540? d. 1596).

FRANCIS DRAKE, the greatest of English naval adventurers, and the first Englishman to plough a furrow round the globe, was born at Crowndale, near Tavistock, whence his father removed into Kent. He was one of a large family, most of whom went to sea, and died at sea, like himself[1]. Like Hawkins and Frobisher, he had been early employed in the West African trade, and had by this or other means become a man of substance. As the reader is aware (p. 5), Drake had commanded the *Judith*, under Hawkins, in the third voyage of the latter (1567). Drake had embarked most of his own capital in that venture, and claimed to have sustained heavy losses by the perfidy of the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulua. Failing to obtain compensation by peaceable means, he had recourse to plundering the Spaniards by way of redressing his alleged wrongs. At the date of the Famous Voyage Drake had already made more than one successful raid on the American coast, and had shown to his men what he described as 'the mouth of the Treasure of the World'—the door of the bullion warehouse of Nombre de Dios. On the 11th of February, 1573, the maroons of the isthmus had conducted him to a lofty ridge, on the summit of which was a tree of giant growth, having steps hewn in it for ascent. Drake mounted it, and beheld at the same time the two oceans, in one of which, the mighty Pacific, no Englishman had hitherto sailed. Drake then and there prayed God 'to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship upon that sea.' Calling up John Oxenham, one of his captains, he acquainted him with his resolution to do so.

[1] Two of his brothers died in the expedition of 1572; another, Thomas Drake, commanded the *Thomas* in the Great Armada (post, p. 234).

Oxenham vowed that by God's grace he would follow him: instead of which he rashly resolved to anticipate him (1575). Landing on a retired part of the isthmus, he launched a pinnace on a river flowing into the Pacific, reached that ocean, and captured two Peruvian vessels laden with gold and silver. This perilous feat cost Oxenham his life: he was pursued, taken, and sent to Lima, where he was put to death as a pirate. Drake determined to tap the 'Treasure of the World' in another way. He proposed secretly to pass the Straits at the southern extremity of the Continent, to sail northwards along the coast of Chile, and thus to reach Peru itself. The Peruvian ports were unfortified. They were unapproachable from Europe on the north; nothing seemed more unlikely than that the English pirates would dare to pass the Straits of Magellan and attack them from the south. Such was the plan of Drake; and it was executed with complete success. Laden with his rich booty of Peruvian treasure, he deemed it unsafe to return by the same route. Obviously nothing would be easier than for the Spaniards to intercept him at the Straits of Magellan. Cape Horn was unknown: Tierra del Fuego was believed to be part of a great imaginary southern continent called Terra Australis. He therefore resolved to strike across the Pacific, and for this purpose made the latitude in which this voyage was performed by Spanish vessels sailing to the Philippines[1]. Drake thus reached the coast of California, where the Indians, taking him and his companions for gods, offered him sacrifice, and besought him to remain and rule over them. Drake took possession of the country in the name of the Queen, and refitted his vessel in preparation for the homeward voyage. The place where he landed remains doubtful. If the latitude of 38° 30′, given by Drake's chaplain Fletcher, is correct, it must have been in some small bay north of the great bay of San Francisco: perhaps the bay of Bodega best answers the description. Pretty (p. 214) puts the latitude at 38°;

[1] Davis and Sir William Monson, following the narrative of Drake's chaplain, Fletcher, erroneously state that Drake went as far north as 48 degrees. The true reading is 43. Drake never reached the mouth of the Columbia river.

this approximately indicates the bay of San Francisco itself, which is marked in old maps as the 'Port of Sir Francis Drake.' He believed himself to be the first European who had visited these shores; but it is now ascertained that Spanish explorers had preceded him.

Drake's famous 'circumnavigation of the globe' was thus no voluntary feat of daring seamanship, but the necessary result of circumstances. This fact does not detract from its importance. The voyage marks a great epoch in English nautical history. Drake had not only plundered the Spaniards in the very heart of their American possessions; he had been the first Englishman to navigate the Pacific and Indian oceans, and to visit the rich Oriental islands frequented by the Portuguese, whose factories were so soon to fall, together with Portugal itself, into the avaricious grasp of Spain. He had been the first Englishman to realize the dream of Columbus, and to sail to the East by way of the West. Elizabeth, who had contributed largely to the funds of the enterprise, visited and knighted him on the deck of his vessel, the name of which he had changed, on entering the Straits of Magellan, from the *Pelican* to the *Golden Hind.*

The hull of the *Golden Hind* long remained at Deptford, used as a restaurant. When she was at length broken up, John Davis caused a chair to be made out of her timbers, and presented it to the University of Oxford. This interesting relic is still preserved over the Bodleian Library. Cowley's fine lines, purporting to have been written by the poet while sitting and drinking in it, are well known :—

'Great Relic! Thou, too, in this port of ease,
Hast still one way of making voyages:
The breath of fame, like an auspicious gale,
(The greater trade-wind, which does never fail)
Shall drive thee round the world, and thou shalt run
As long around it as the sun.
The Straits of Time too narrow are for thee—
Launch forth into an undiscover'd sea,
And steer the endless course of vast eternity:
Take for thy sail, this verse, and for thy pilot, me.'

DRAKE'S FAMOUS VOYAGE.

[NARRATIVE BY FRANCIS PRETTY, ONE OF DRAKE'S GENTLEMEN AT ARMS.]

The FAMOUS VOYAGE *of* SIR FRANCIS DRAKE *into the South Sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the Earth, begun in the year of our Lord 1577.*

The 15. day of November, in the year of our Lord 1577, Master *Francis Drake*, with a fleet of five ships and barks[1], and to the number of 164 men, gentlemen and sailors, departed from *Plymouth*, giving out his pretended voyage for *Alexandria*. But the wind falling contrary, he was forced the next morning to put into *Falmouth* Haven, in *Cornwall*, where such and so terrible a tempest took us, as few men have seen the like, and was indeed so vehement that all our ships were like to have gone to wrack. But it pleased God to preserve us from that extremity, and to afflict us only for that present with these two particulars: the mast of our Admiral, which was the *Pelican*, was cut overboard for the safeguard of the ship, and the *Marigold* was driven ashore, and somewhat bruised. For the repairing of which damages we returned again to *Plymouth*; and having recovered those harms, and brought the ships again to good state, we set forth the second time from

[1] The *Pelican*, 120 tons, commanded by Drake; the *Elizabeth*, a new Deptford-built ship of 80 tons, commanded by Winter, with her pinnace the *Benedict*; the *Marigold*, of 30 tons; and the *Swan*, a fly-boat of 50 tons.

Plymouth, and set sail the 13. day of December following.

The 25. day of the same month we fell with the Cape *Cantin*, upon the coast of *Barbary*; and coasting along, the 27. day we found an island called *Mogador*, lying one mile distant from the main. Between which island and the main we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger. On this island our General erected a pinnace, whereof he brought out of *England* with him four already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the water's side some of the inhabitants of the country, shewing forth their flags of truce; which being seen of our General, he sent his ship's boat to the shore to know what they would. They being willing to come aboard, our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboard our ship; which by signs shewed our General that the next day they would bring some provision, as sheep, capons, and hens, and such like. Whereupon our General bestowed amongst them some linen cloth and shoes, and a javelin, which they very joyfully received, and departed for that time. The next morning they failed not to come again to the water's side. And our General again setting out our boat, one of our men leaping over-rashly ashore, and offering friendly to embrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throat if he had made any resistance; and so laying him on a horse carried him away. So that a man cannot be too circumspect and wary of himself among such miscreants. Our pinnace being finished, we departed from this place the 30. and last day of December, and coasting along the shore we did descry, not contrary to our expectation, certain *canters*, which were Spanish fisher-

men [1]; to whom we gave chase and took three of them. And proceeding further we met with three carvels, and took them also.

The 17. day of January we arrived at *Cape Blanco*, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple mariners in her. Which ship we took and carried her further into the harbour, where we remained four days; and in that space our General mustered and trained his men on land in warlike manner, to make them fit for all occasions. In this place we took of the fishermen such necessaries as we wanted, and they could yield us; and leaving here one of our little barks, called the *Benedict*, we took with us one of theirs which they called *canters*, being of the burden of 40 tons or thereabouts. All these things being finished we departed this harbour the 22. of January, carrying along with us one of the Portugal carvels, which was bound to the islands of *Cape Verde* for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those islands. The master or pilot of that carvel did advertise our General that upon one of those islands, called *Mayo*, there was great store of dried *cabritos* [2], which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yearly make ready for such of the king's ships as did there touch, being bound for his country of *Brazil* or elsewhere. We fell with this island the 27. of January, but the inhabitants would in no case traffic with us, being thereof forbidden by the king's edict. Yet the next day our General sent to view the island, and the likelihoods that might be there of provision of victuals, about threescore and two men under the conduct and government of Master *Winter* and Master *Doughty*. And marching towards the chief place of habitation in this island (as by the Portugal we were informed), having

[1] Old Sp. *cantera* (perhaps from *cantharus*). [2] Goats.

travelled to the mountains the space of three miles, and arriving there somewhat before the daybreak, we arrested ourselves, to see day before us. Which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled ; but the place, by reason that it was manured, we found to be more fruitful than the other part, especially the valleys among the hills.

Here we gave ourselves a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweet grapes, which the fruitfulness of the earth at that season of the year yielded us; and that season being with us the depth of winter, it may seem strange that those fruits were then there growing. But the reason thereof is this, because they being between the tropic and the equinoctial, the sun passeth twice in the year through their zenith over their heads, by means whereof they have two summers; and being so near the heat of the line they never lose the heat of the sun so much, but the fruits have their increase and continuance in the midst of winter. The island is wonderfully stored with goats and wild hens; and it hath salt also, without labour, save only that the people gather it into heaps; which continually in great quantity is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiving heat of the sun kerning the same. So that of the increase thereof they keep a continual traffic with their neighbours.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called *cocos*, which because it is not commonly known with us in *England*, I thought good to make some description of it. The tree beareth no leaves nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stem of the tree, as big every several fruit as a man's head; but having taken off the uttermost bark, which you shall find to be very full of strings or sinews, as I may term them, you shall come to a hard shell, which may hold in quantity of

liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some less. Within that shell, of the thickness of half-an-inch good, you shall have a kind of hard substance and very white, no less good and sweet than almonds; within that again, a certain clear liquor, which being drunk, you shall not only find it very delicate and sweet, but most comfortable and cordial.

After we had satisfied ourselves with some of these fruits, we marched further into the island, and saw great store of *cabritos* alive, which were so chased by the inhabitants that we could do no good towards our provision; but they had laid out, as it were to stop our mouths withal, certain old dried *cabritos*, which being but ill, and small and few, we made no account of. Being returned to our ships, our General departed hence the 31. of this month, and sailed by the island of *Santiago*, but far enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three pieces; but they all fell short of us, and did us no harm. The island is fair and large, and, as it seemeth, rich and fruitful, and inhabited by the Portugals; but the mountains and high places of the island are said to be possessed by the Moors, who having been slaves to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desert places of the island, where they abide with great strength. Being before this island, we espied two ships under sail, to the one of which we gave chase, and in the end boarded her with a ship-boat without resistance; which we found to be a good prize, and she yielded unto us good store of wine. Which prize our General committed to the custody of Master *Doughty*; and retaining the pilot, sent the rest away with his pinnace, giving them a butt of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed. The same night we came with the island called by the

Portugals *Ilha do Fogo*, that is, the burning island; in the north side whereof is a consuming fire. The matter is said to be of sulphur, but, notwithstanding, it is like to be a commodious island, because the Portugals have built, and do inhabit there. Upon the south side thereof lieth a most pleasant and sweet island, the trees whereof are always green and fair to look upon; in respect whereof they call it *Ilha Brava*, that is, the brave island. From the banks thereof into the sea do run in many places reasonable streams of fresh waters easy to come by, but there was no convenient road for our ships; for such was the depth that no ground could be had for anchoring. And it is reported that ground was never found in that place; so that the tops of *Fogo* burn not so high in the air, but the roots of *Brava* are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these islands, we drew towards the line, where we were becalmed the space of three weeks, but yet subject to divers great storms, terrible lightnings and much thunder. But with this misery we had the commodity of great store of fish, as dolphins, *bonitos*, and flying-fishes, whereof some fell into our ships; wherehence they could not rise again for want of moisture, for when their wings are dry they cannot fly.

From the first day of our departure from the islands of *Cape Verde*, we sailed 54 days without sight of land. And the first land that we fell with was the coast of *Brazil*, which we saw the fifth of April, in the height of 33 degrees towards the pole Antarctic. And being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the country, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the devils; about which they use conjurations, making heaps of sand, and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall go about to stay upon their coast, not only sands may be gathered together in shoals in every place,

but also that storms and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof, as it is reported, there have been divers experiments.

The 7. day in a mighty great storm, both of lightning, rain, and thunder, we lost the *canter*, which we called the *Christopher*. But the eleventh day after, by our General's great care in dispersing his ships, we found her again; and the place where we met our General called the *Cape of Joy*, where every ship took in some water. Here we found a good temperature and sweet air, a very fair and pleasant country with an exceeding fruitful soil, where were great store of large and mighty deer, but we came not to the sight of any people; but travelling further into the country we perceived the footing of people in the clay ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships we weighed anchor, and ran somewhat further, and harboured ourselves between the rock and the main; where by means of the rock that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe. And upon this rock we killed for our provision certain sea-wolves, commonly called with us *seals*. From hence we went our course to 36 degrees, and entered the great river of *Plate*, and ran into 54 and 53½ fathoms of fresh water, where we filled our water by the ship's side; but our General finding here no good harborough, as he thought he should, bare out again to sea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our fly-boat, wherein Master *Doughty* was. But we, sailing along, found a fair and reasonable good bay, wherein were many and the same profitable islands; one whereof had so many seals as would at the least have laden all our ships, and the rest of the islands are, as it were, laden with fowls, which is wonderful to see, and they of divers sorts. It is a place very plentiful of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water. Our

General, after certain days of his abode in this place, being on shore in an island, the people of the country shewed themselves unto him, leaping and dancing, and entered into traffic with him; but they would not receive anything at any man's hands, but the same must be cast upon the ground. They are of clean, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foot, and seem to be very active.

The 18. day of May, our General thought it needful to have a care of such ships as were absent; and therefore endeavouring to seek the fly-boat wherein Master *Doughty* was, we espied her again the next day. And whereas certain of our ships were sent to discover the coast and to search an harbour, the *Marigold* and the *canter* being employed in that business, came unto us and gave us understanding of a safe harbour that they had found. Wherewith all our ships bare, and entered it; where we watered and made new provision of victuals, as by seals, whereof we slew to the number of 200 or 300 in the space of an hour. Here our General in the Admiral rid close aboard the fly-boat, and took out of her all the provision of victuals and what else was in her, and hauling her to the land, set fire to her, and so burnt her to save the iron work. Which being a-doing, there came down of the country certain of the people naked, saving only about their waist the skin of some beast, with the fur or hair on, and something also wreathed on their heads. Their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of horns, every man his bow, which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrows. They were very agile people and quick to deliver, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feats of wars, as by their order of ranging a few men might appear. These people would not of a long time receive anything at our hands; yet at length our General being ashore, and they dancing

after their accustomed manner about him, and he once turning his back towards them, one leaped suddenly to him, and took his cap with his gold band off his head, and ran a little distance from him, and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other. Having despatched all our business in this place, we departed and set sail. And immediately upon our setting forth we lost our *canter*, which was absent three or four days; but when our General had her again, he took out the necessaries, and so gave her over, near to the *Cape of Good Hope*. The next day after, being the 20. of June, we harboured ourselves again in a very good harborough, called by *Magellan*, *Port St. Julian*, where we found a gibbet standing upon the main; which we supposed to be the place where *Magellan* did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our General went ashore to the main, and in his company *John Thomas*, and *Robert Winterhie*, *Oliver* the master-gunner, *John Brewer*, *Thomas Hood*, and *Thomas Drake*. And entering on land, they presently met with two or three of the country people. And *Robert Winterhie* having in his hands a bow and arrows, went about to make a shoot of pleasure, and, in his draught, his bowstring brake; which the rude savages taking as a token of war, began to bend the force of their bows against our company, and drove them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this port our General began to enquire diligently of the actions of Master *Thomas Doughty*, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather of contention or mutiny, or some other disorder, whereby, without redress, the success of the voyage might greatly have been hazarded. Whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found, partly by Master

Doughty's own confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true. Which when our General saw, although his private affection to Master *Doughty*, as he then in the presence of us all sacredly protested, was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majesty, and of the honour of his country did more touch him, as indeed it ought, than the private respect of one man. So that the cause being throughly heard, and all things done in good order as near as might be to the course of our laws in *England*, it was concluded that Master *Doughty* should receive punishment according to the quality of the offence. And he, seeing no remedy but patience for himself, desired before his death to receive the communion, which he did at the hands of Master *Fletcher*, our minister, and our General himself accompanied him in that holy action. Which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he having embraced our General, and taken his leave of all the company, with prayers for the Queen's Majesty and our realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life. This being done, our General made divers speeches to the whole company, persuading us to unity, obedience, love, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed every man the next Sunday following to prepare himself to receive the communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to do. Which was done in very reverent sort; and so with good contentment every man went about his business.

The 17. day of August we departed the port of *St. Julian*[1], and the 20. day we fell with the Strait of *Magellan*, going into the South Sea; at the cape or head-

[1] The squadron was now reduced to three ships, the *Swan* and the *Christopher*, as well as the Portuguese prize, having been condemned as unseaworthy, and burnt or abandoned.

land whereof we found the body of a dead man, whose flesh was clean consumed. The 21. day we entered the Strait[1], which we found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings-up, as if there were no passage at all. By means whereof we had the wind often against us; so that some of the fleet recovering a cape or point of land, others should be forced to turn back again, and to come to an anchor where they could. In this Strait there be many fair harbours, with store of fresh water. But yet they lack their best commodity, for the water there is of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow river or corner, or between some rocks; so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come, whereunto the place is much subject, it carrieth with it no small danger. The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous; the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderful to look upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellows so high, that between them did appear three regions of clouds. These mountains are covered with snow. At both the southerly and easterly parts of the Strait there are islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the Straits, even as it hath in the main entrance of the frete[2]. This Strait is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually, and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully grow and increase under them. The breadth of the Strait is in some places a league, in some other places two leagues and three leagues, and in some other four leagues; but the narrowest place hath a league over.

[1] Drake here changed the name of the *Pelican* to the *Golden Hind*, the crest of Sir Christopher Hatton.

[2] Lat. *fretum*.

The 24. of August we arrived at an island in the Straits, where we found great store of fowl which could not fly, of the bigness of geese; whereof we killed in less than one day 3,000, and victualled ourselves throughly therewith. The 6. day of September we entered the South Sea at the cape or head shore. The 7. day we were driven by a great storm from the entering into the South Sea, 200 leagues and odd in longitude, and one degree to the southward of the Strait; in which height, and so many leagues to the westward, the 15. day of September, fell out the eclipse of the moon at the hour of six of the clock at night. But neither did the ecliptical conflict of the moon impair our state, nor her clearing again amend us a whit; but the accustomed eclipse of the sea continued in his force, we being darkened more than the moon sevenfold[1].

From the bay which we called the *Bay of Severing of Friends*, we were driven back to the southward of the Straits in 57 degrees and a tierce; in which height we came to an anchor among the islands, having there fresh and very good water, with herbs of singular virtue. Not far from hence we entered another bay, where we found people, both men and women, in their canoes naked, and ranging from one island to another to seek their meat; who entered traffic with us for such things as they had. We returning hence northward again, found the third of October three islands, in one of which was such plenty of birds as is scant credible to report. The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our consorts[2], wherein Master *Winter* was; who, as then we supposed, was put by a storm into the Straits again.

[1] In this storm the *Marigold* went down with all hands.

[2] The *Elizabeth*. Winter, having lost sight of the Admiral, sailed home. The *Golden Hind* was thus left to pursue her voyage alone.

Which at our return home we found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared. Thus being come into the height of the Straits again, we ran, supposing the coast of *Chili* to lie as the general maps have described it, namely north-west; which we found to lie and trend to the north-east and eastwards. Whereby it appeareth that this part of *Chili* hath not been truly hitherto discovered, or at the least not truly reported, for the space of twelve degrees at the least; being set down either of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of November with an island called *La Mocha*, where we cast anchor; and our General, hoising out our boat, went with ten of our company to shore. Where we found people, whom the cruel and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced, for their own safety and liberty, to flee from the main, and to fortify themselves in this island. We being on land, the people came down to us to the water side with show of great courtesy, bringing to us potatoes, roots, and two very fat sheep; which our General received, and gave them other things for them, and had promise to have water there. But the next day repairing again to the shore, and sending two men a-land with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to show no favour if they take them) laid violent hands on them, and, as we think, slew them. Our General seeing this, stayed here no longer, but weighed anchor, and set sail towards the coast of *Chili*. And drawing towards it, we met near to the shore an Indian in a *canoa*, who thinking us to have been Spaniards, came to us and told us, that at a place called *Santiago*, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdom of *Peru*; for which good news our General gave him divers trifles. Whereof he was glad,

and went along with us and brought us to the place, which is called the port of *Valparaiso*. When we came thither we found, indeed, the ship riding at anchor, having in her eight Spaniards and three negroes; who, thinking us to have been Spaniards, and their friends, welcomed us with a drum, and made ready a *botija*[1] of wine of *Chili* to drink to us. But as soon as we were entered, one of our company called *Thomas Moon* began to lay about him, and struck one of the Spaniards, and said unto him, *Abaxo, perro!* that is in English, 'Go down, dog!' One of these Spaniards, seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed and blessed himself. But, to be short, we stowed them under hatches, all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt overboard into the sea, and swam ashore to the town of *Santiago*, to give them warning of our arrival.

They of the town, being not above nine households, presently fled away and abandoned the town. Our General manned his boat and the Spanish ship's boat, and went to the town; and, being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chapel, which we entered, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoil whereof our General gave to Master *Fletcher*, his minister. We found also in this town a warehouse stored with wine of *Chili* and many boards of cedar-wood; all which wine we brought away with us, and certain of the boards to burn for firewood. And so, being come aboard, we departed the haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one *John Griego*, a Greek born, whom our General carried with him as pilot to bring him into the haven of *Lima*.

When we were at sea our General rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of *Chili*, and

[1] Jar.

25,000 *pesos* of very pure and fine gold of *Valdivia*, amounting in value to 37,000 ducats of Spanish money, and above. So, going on our course, we arrived next at a place called *Coquimbo*, where our General sent fourteen of his men on land to fetch water. But they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300 horsemen and 200 footmen, and slew one of our men with a piece. The rest came aboard in safety, and the Spaniards departed. We went on shore again and buried our man, and the Spaniards came down again with a flag of truce; but we set sail, and would not trust them. From hence we went to a certain port called *Tarapaca*; where, being landed, we found by the sea side a Spaniard lying asleep, who had lying by him thirteen bars of silver, which weighed 4,000 ducats Spanish. We took the silver and left the man. Not far from hence, going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight *llamas* or sheep of *Peru*, which are as big as asses; every of which sheep had on his back two bags of leather, each bag containing 50 lb. weight of fine silver. So that, bringing both the sheep and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags eight hundred weight of silver.

Herehence we sailed to a place called *Arica*; and, being entered the port, we found there three small barks, which we rifled, and found in one of them fifty-seven wedges of silver, each of them weighing about 20 lb. weight, and every of these wedges were of the fashion and bigness of a brickbat. In all these three barks, we found not one person. For they, mistrusting no strangers, were all gone a-land to the town, which consisteth of about twenty houses; which we would have ransacked if our company had been better and more in number. But our General, con-

tented with the spoil of the ships, left the town and put off again to sea, and set sail for *Lima*, and, by the way, met with a small bark, which he boarded, and found in her good store of linen cloth. Whereof taking some quantity, he let her go.

To *Lima* we came the 13. of February; and, being entered the haven, we found there about twelve sail of ships lying fast moored at an anchor, having all their sails carried on shore; for the masters and merchants were here most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our General rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of reals of plate, and good store of silks and linen cloth; and took the chest into his own ship, and good store of the silks and linen. In which ship he had news of another ship called the *Cacafuego*[1], which was gone towards *Payta*, and that the same ship was laden with treasure. Whereupon we stayed no longer here, but, cutting all the cables of the ships in the haven, we let them drive whither they would, either to sea or to the shore; and with all speed we followed the *Cacafuego* toward *Payta*, thinking there to have found her. But before we arrived there she was gone from thence towards *Panama*; whom our General still pursued, and by the way met with a bark laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which he boarded and searched, and found in her 80 lb. weight of gold, and a crucifix of gold with goodly great emeralds set in it, which he took, and some of the cordage also for his own ship. From hence we departed, still following the *Cacafuego*; and our General promised our company that whosoever should first descry her should have his chain of gold for his good news. It fortuned that *John Drake*, going

[1] 'Spitfire'.

up into the top, descried her about three of the clock. And about six of the clock we came to her and boarded her, and shot at her three pieces of ordnance, and strake down her mizen; and, being entered, we found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteen chests full of reals of plate, fourscore pound weight of gold, and six-and-twenty ton of silver. The place where we took this prize was called *Cape de San Francisco,* about 150 leagues [south] from *Panama.* The pilot's name of this ship was *Francisco*; and amongst other plate that our General found in this ship he found two very fair gilt bowls of silver, which were the pilot's. To whom our General said, *Señor Pilot, you have here two silver cups, but I must needs have one of them*; which the pilot, because he could not otherwise choose, yielded unto, and gave the other to the steward of our General's ships. When this pilot departed from us, his boy said thus unto our General; *Captain, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your ship shall be called the Cacafuego.* Which pretty speech of the pilot's boy ministered matter of laughter to us, both then and long after. When our General had done what he would with this *Cacafuego,* he cast her off, and we went on our course still towards the west; and not long after met with a ship laden with linen cloth and fine *China* dishes of white earth, and great store of *China* silks, of all which things we took as we listed. The owner himself of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish gentleman[1], from whom our General took a falcon of gold, with a great emerald in the breast thereof[2]; and the pilot of the ship he took also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This pilot brought us to the haven of *Guatulco,* the

[1] Don Francisco de Zarate.

[2] Drake presented him in return with a hanger and a silver brazier.

town whereof, as he told us, had but 17 Spaniards in it. As soon as we were entered this haven, we landed, and went presently to the town and to the town-house ; where we found a judge sitting in judgment, being associated with three other officers, upon three negroes that had conspired the burning of the town. Both which judges and prisoners we took, and brought them a-shipboard, and caused the chief judge to write his letter to the town to command all the townsmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransacked the town ; and in one house we found a pot, of the quantity of a bushel, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship. And here one *Thomas Moon*, one of our company, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the town; and, searching him, he found a chain of gold about him, and other jewels, which he took, and so let him go. At this place our General, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugal pilot which he took at the islands of *Cape Verde* out of a ship of *St. Mary* port, of *Portugal.* And having set them ashore we departed hence, and sailed to the island of *Canno* ; where our General landed, and brought to shore his own ship, and discharged her, mended and graved her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

And while we were here we espied a ship and set sail after her, and took her, and found in her two pilots and a Spanish governor, going for the islands of the *Philippinas.* We searched the ship, and took some of her merchandises, and so let her go. Our General at this place and time, thinking himself, both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our country and prince in general, sufficiently satisfied and revenged ; and supposing that her Majesty at his return

would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coast, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his country.

He thought it not good to return by the Straits, for two special causes; the one, lest the Spaniards should there wait and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, he, being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Straits in the South Sea; where continual storms reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, he thought it not a good course to adventure that way. He resolved, therefore, to avoid these hazards, to go forward to the Islands of the *Malucos*, and therehence to sail the course of the Portugals by the Cape of *Buena Esperanza*. Upon this resolution he began to think of his best way to the *Malucos*, and finding himself, where he now was, becalmed, he saw that of necessity he must be forced to take a Spanish course; namely, to sail somewhat northerly to get a wind. We therefore set sail, and sailed 600 leagues at the least for a good wind; and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April till the third of June.

The fifth of June, being in 43 degrees towards the pole Arctic, we found the air so cold, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof; and the further we went, the more the cold increased upon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seek the land, and did so; finding it not mountainous, but low plain land, till we came within 38 degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay, with a good wind to enter the same. In this bay we anchored; and the people of the country, having their

houses close by the water's side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our General. When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things that we brought. But our General, according to his natural and accustomed humanity, courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness; whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary. The presents which they sent to our General, were feathers, and cauls of net-work. Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brims of the circle, clifts of wood set upon them, joining close together at the top like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closeness are very warm. Their bed is the ground with rushes strowed on it; and lying about the house, [they] have the fire in the midst. The men go naked; the women take bulrushes, and kemb them after the manner of hemp, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hips, having also about their shoulders a skin of deer, with the hair upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of *tabacco* for presents. And when they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof we had pitched our tents, they stayed themselves; where one appointed for speaker wearied himself with making a long oration; which done, they left their bows upon the hill, and came down with their presents. In the meantime the women, remaining upon the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheeks, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meantime our General with his

company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive, and seemed greatly to be affected with it; but when they were come unto us, they restored again unto us those things which before we bestowed upon them. The news of our being there being spread through the country, the people that inhabited round about came down, and amongst them the king himself, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men; before whose coming were sent two ambassadors to our General, to signify that their king was coming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about half an hour. This ended, they by signs requested our General to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his coming might be in peace. Wherein our General having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to us with a princely majesty, the people crying continually after their manner; and as they drew near unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comeliness. In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the sceptre or mace before the king; whereupon hanged two crowns, a less and a bigger, with three chains of a marvellous length. The crowns were made of knit work, wrought artificially with feathers of divers colours. The chains were made of a bony substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to wear them; and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelve, &c. Next unto him which bare the sceptre, was the king himself, with his guard about his person, clad with coney skins, and other skins. After them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with black, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or another

for a present. Not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meantime our General gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making, against their approaching, a very warlike show. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a general silence. Then he that bare the sceptre before the king, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and lofty voice proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing half an hour. Which ended, and a general *Amen*, as it were, given, the king with the whole number of men and women, the children excepted, came down without any weapon; who, descending to the foot of the hill, set themselves in order. In coming towards our bulwarks and tents, the sceptre-bearer began a song, observing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance; whom the king with his guard, and every degree of persons, following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving only the women, which danced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signs to our General to sit down; to whom the king and divers others made several orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which, to persuade us the better, the king and the rest, with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with all their chains, and offered him many other things, honouring him by

the name of *Hioh,* adding thereunto, as it seemed, a sign of triumph; which thing our General thought not meet to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our country. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majesty, he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the said country into his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of people, leaving the king and his guard with our General, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent view of every person: and such as pleased their fancy (which were the youngest), they enclosing them about offered their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching and tearing their flesh from their faces with their nails, whereof issued abundance of blood. But we used signs to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom only they ought to worship. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craved help of them at our hands; whereupon we gave them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefs, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Every third day they brought their sacrifices unto us, until they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them; yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the hour of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They entreated us, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessary business being ended, our General with his company travelled up into the country to their

villages, where we found herds of deer by a thousand in a company, being most large, and fat of body. We found the whole country to be a warren of a strange kind of coneys; their bodies in bigness as be the *Barbary* coneys, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a want[1], and the tail of a rat, being of great length. Under her chin is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meat, when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for their king's coat was made of them. Our General called this country *Nova Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs, which lie towards the sea, and the other, because it might have some affinity with our country in name, which sometime was so called. There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some probable show of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our General set up a monument of our being there, as also of her Majesty's right and title to the same; namely a plate, nailed upon a fair great post, whereupon was engraved her Majesty's name, the day and year of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her Majesty's hands, together with her Highness' picture and arms, in a piece of six pence of current English money, under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our General.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never been in this part of the country, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees to the southwards of this place.

After we had set sail from hence, we continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning we fell with certain

[1] Mole.

islands eight degrees to the northward of the line, from which islands came a great number of *canoas*, having in some of them four, in some six, and in some also fourteen men, bringing with them cocos and other fruits. Their *canoas* were hollow within, and cut with great art and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glass [1] as if it were a horn daintily burnished, having a prow and a stern of one sort, yielding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certain white shells for a bravery; and on each side of them lie out two pieces of timber about a yard and a half long, more or less, according to the smallness or bigness of the boat. These people have the nether part of their ears cut into a round circle, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nails of their hands are an inch long, their teeth are as black as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herb with a kind of powder, which they always carry about them in a cane for the same purpose.

Leaving this island the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October we lighted upon divers others, some whereof made a great show of inhabitants. We continued our course by the islands of *Tagulanda* [2], *Zelon*, and *Zewarra*, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of cinnamon. The 14. of November we fell in with the islands of *Maluco*. Which day at night (having directed our course to run with *Tidore*) in coasting along the island of *Mutyr* [3], belonging to the king of *Ternate*, his deputy or vice-king seeing us at sea, came with his *canoa* to us without all fear, and came aboard; and after some

[1] I. e. having a gloss.
[2] Tagulandang, to the north-east of Celebes.
[3] Motir, one of the Ternate Moluccas.

conference with our General, willed him in any wise to run in with *Ternate*, and not with *Tidore*, assuring him that the king would be glad of his coming, and would be ready to do what he would require, for which purpose he himself would that night be with the king, and tell him the news. With whom if he once dealt, we should find that as he was a king, so his word should stand; adding further, that if he went to *Tidore* before he came to *Ternate*, the king would have nothing to do with us, because he held the Portugal as his enemy. Whereupon our General resolved to run with *Ternate*. Where the next morning early we came to anchor; at which time our General sent a messenger to the king, with a velvet cloak for a present and token of his coming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffic and exchange of merchandise, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

In the meantime the vice-king had been with the king according to his promise, signifying unto him what good things he might receive from us by traffic. Whereby the king was moved with great liking towards us, and sent to our General, with special message, that he should have what things he needed and would require, with peace and friendship; and moreover that he would yield himself and the right of his island to be at the pleasure and commandment of so famous a prince as we served. In token whereof he sent to our General a signet; and within short time after came in his own person, with boats and *canoas*, to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer road than she was in at that present. In the meantime, our General's messenger, being come to the Court, was met by certain noble personages with great solemnity, and brought to the king, at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained.

The king, purposing to come to our ship, sent before four great and large *canoas*, in every one whereof were certain of his greatest states[1] that were about him, attired in white lawn of cloth of *Calicut*, having over their heads, from the one end of the *canoa* to the other, a covering of thin perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reeds for the same use; under which every one did sit in his order according to his dignity, to keep him from the heat of the sun; divers of whom being of good age and gravity, did make an ancient and fatherly show. There were also divers young and comely men attired in white, as were the others; the rest were soldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides. Without whom sat the rowers in certain galleries; which being three on a side all along the *canoas*, did lie off from the side thereof three or four yards, one being orderly builded lower than another, in every of which galleries were the number of fourscore rowers. These *canoas* were furnished with warlike munition, every man for the most part having his sword and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as lances, calivers, darts, bows and arrows; also every *canoa* had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yard upon a stock set upright. Thus coming near our ship, in order, they rowed about us one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnity; the great personages beginning with great gravity and fatherly countenances, signifying that the king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better road. Soon after the king himself repaired, accompanied with six grave and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with marvellous humility. The king was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our music; to whom. as also to his nobility, our General

[1] States = men of property or estate.

gave presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

At length the king craved leave of our General to depart, promising the next day to come aboard, and in the meantime to send us such victuals as were necessary for our provision. So that the same night we received of them meal, which they call *sagu*, made of the tops of certain trees, tasting in the mouth like sour curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certain cakes, which may be kept the space of ten years, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hens, unperfect and liquid sugar, sugar-canes, and a fruit which they call *figo*[1], with store of cloves.

The king having promised to come aboard, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to entreat our General to come on shore, offering himself pawn aboard for his safe return. Whereunto our General consented not, upon mislike conceived of the breach of his promise; the whole company also utterly refusing it. But to satisfy him, our General sent certain of his gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the king's brother, reserving the vice-king for their safe return. They were received of another brother of the king's, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the castle. The place that they were brought unto was a large and fair house, where were at the least a thousand persons assembled.

The king being yet absent, there sat in their places 60 grave personages, all which were said to be of the king's council. There were besides four grave persons, apparelled all in red, down to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turks; and these were said to be Romans[2] and ligiers[3] there to keep continual traffic with the people of *Ternate*. There were also two Turks

[1] Plantains. [2] Probably Greeks (Arab. *Rumi*). [3] Resident agents.

ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with twelve lances, covered over with a rich canopy with embossed gold. Our men, accompanied with one of their captains called *Moro,* rising to meet him, he graciously did welcome and entertain them. He was attired after the manner of the country, but more sumptuously than the rest. From his waist down to the ground was all cloth of gold, and the same very rich; his legs were bare, but on his feet were a pair of shoes, made of *Cordovan* skin. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his neck he had a chain of perfect gold, the links whereof were great, and one fold double. On his fingers he had six very fair jewels; and sitting in his chair of state, at his right hand stood a page with a fan in his hand, breathing and gathering the air to the king. The same was in length two foot, and in breadth one foot, set with eight sapphires, richly embroidered, and knit to a staff three foot in length, by the which the page did hold and move it. Our gentlemen having delivered their message and received order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted back again by one of the king's council. This island is the chief of all the islands of *Maluco,* and the king hereof is king of 70 islands besides. The king with his people are Moors in religion, observing certain new moons, with fastings; during which fasts they neither eat nor drink in the day, but in the night.

After that our gentlemen were returned, and that we had here by the favour of the king received all necessary things that the place could yield us; our General considering the great distance, and how far he was yet off from his country, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but weighing his anchors, set out of the island, and sailed to a certain little island to the south-

wards of *Celebes*, where we graved our ship, and continued there, in that and other businesses, 26 days. This island is throughly grown with wood of a large and high growth, very straight, and without boughs, save only in the head or top, whose leaves are not much differing from our broom in *England*. Amongst these trees night by night, through the whole land, did shew themselves an infinite swarm of fiery worms flying in the air, whose bodies being no bigger than our common English flies, make such a show and light as if every twig or tree had been a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderful store of bats, as big as large hens. Of cray-fishes also here wanted no plenty, and they of exceeding bigness, one whereof was sufficient for four hungry stomachs at a dinner, being also very good and restoring meat, whereof we had experience: and they dig themselves holes in the earth like coneys.

When we had ended our business here we weighed, and set sail to run for the *Malucos*. But having at that time a bad wind, and being amongst the islands, with much difficulty we recovered to the northward of the island of *Celebes*; where by reason of contrary winds, not able to continue our course to run westwards, we were enforced to alter the same to the southward again, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for us, by reason of infinite shoals which lie off and among the islands; whereof we had too much trial, to the hazard and danger of our ship and lives. For, of all other days, upon the 9. of January, in the year 1579[1], we ran suddenly upon a rock, where we stuck fast from eight of the clock at night till four of the clock in the afternoon the next day, being indeed out of all hope to escape the danger. But our General, as he had always

[1] I. e. 1580.

hitherto shewed himself courageous, and of a good confidence in the mercy and protection of God, so now he continued in the same. And lest he should seem to perish wilfully, both he and we did our best endeavour to save ourselves; which it pleased God so to bless, that in the end we cleared ourselves most happily of the danger.

We lighted our ship upon the rocks of three ton of cloves, eight pieces of ordnance, and certain meal and beans; and then the wind, as it were in a moment by the special grace of God, changing from the starboard to the larboard of the ship, we hoised our sails, and the happy gale drove our ship off the rock into the sea again, to the no little comfort of all our hearts, for which we gave God such praise and thanks, as so great a benefit required.

The 8. of February following, we fell with the fruitful island of *Barateve*[1], having in the mean time suffered many dangers by winds and shoals. The people of this island are comely in body and stature; and of a civil behaviour, just in dealing, and courteous to strangers; whereof we had the experience sundry ways, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to relieve our wants in those things which their country did yield. The men go naked, saving their heads and † loins, every man having something or other hanging at their ears. Their women are covered from the middle down to the foot, wearing a great number of bracelets upon their arms; for some had eight upon each arm, being made some of bone, some of horn, and some of brass, the lightest whereof, by our estimation, weighed two ounces apiece. With this people linen-cloth is good merchandise, and of good request; whereof they make rolls for their heads, and girdles to

[1] Batjan.

wear about them. Their island is both rich and fruitful; rich in gold, silver, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seem skilful and expert, not only to try the same, but in working it also artificially into any form and fashion that pleaseth them. Their fruits be divers and plentiful; as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemons, cucumbers, cocos, *figu*, *sagu*, with divers other sorts. And among all the rest we had one fruit, in bigness, form and husk, like a bay berry, hard of substance and pleasant of taste, which being sodden becometh soft, and is a most good and wholesome victual; whereof we took reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices. So that to confess a truth, since the time that we first set out of our own country of *England*, we happened upon no place, *Ternate* only excepted, wherein we found more comforts and better means of refreshing.

At our departure from *Barateve*, we set our course for *Java Major*[1]; where arriving, we found great courtesy, and honourable entertainment. This island is governed by five kings, whom they call *Rajah*; as *Rajah Donaw*, and *Rajah Mang Bange*, and *Rajah Cabuccapollo*, which live as having one spirit and one mind. Of these five we had four a-shipboard at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and green; the upper part of their bodies are naked, save their heads, whereupon they wear a Turkish roll as do the *Maluccians*. From the middle downward they wear a *pintado* of silk, trailing upon the ground, in colour as they best like. The *Maluccians* hate that their women should be seen of strangers; but these offer them of high courtesy, yea, the kings themselves. The people are of goodly stature and warlike, well provided of swords and targets, with

[1] Java.

daggers, all being of their own work, and most artificially done, both in tempering their metal, as also in the form; whereof we bought reasonable store. They have an house in every village for their common assembly; every day they meet twice, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they think good, some fruits, some rice boiled, some hens roasted, some *sagu*, having a table made three foot from the ground, whereon they set their meat, that every person sitting at the table may eat, one rejoicing in the company of another. They boil their rice in an earthen pot, made in form of a sugar loaf, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withal, and it is open at the great end, wherein they put their rice dry, without any moisture. In the mean time they have ready another great earthen pot, set fast in a furnace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firm substance they become. So that in the end they are a firm and good bread, of the which with oil, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make divers sorts of meats very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature. * * * Not long before our departure, they told us that not far off there were such great ships as ours, wishing us to beware; upon this our captain would stay no longer. From *Java Major* we sailed for the Cape of *Good Hope*, which was the first land we fell withal; neither did we touch with it, or any other land, until we came to *Sierra Leona*, upon the coast of *Guinea*; notwithstanding we ran hard aboard the cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirm that it is the most dangerous cape of the world, never without intolerable

storms and present danger to travellers which come near the same. This cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June. From thence we continued our course to *Sierra Leona*, on the coast of *Guinea*, where we arrived the 22. of July, and found necessary provisions, great store of elephants, oysters upon trees of one kind[1], spawning and increasing infinitely, the oyster suffering no bud to grow. We departed thence the four and twentieth day.

We arrived in *England* the third of November, 1580, being the third year of our departure.

[1] The mangrove.

DRAKE'S GREAT ARMADA (1585).

NEARLY five years elapsed between Drake's return from his Famous Voyage and the despatch of the formidable armament commemorated in the following pages. During the last of these years the march of events had been remarkably rapid. Gilbert, who had been empowered by Elizabeth, in the year of Frobisher's last expedition, to found colonies in America, had sailed for that purpose to Newfoundland (1583), and had perished at sea on his way homeward. Raleigh, who had succeeded to his half-brother's enterprises, had despatched his exploring expedition to 'Virginia,' under Amadas and Barlow, in 1584, and had followed it up in the next year (1585) by an actual colony. In April Sir Richard Greenville sailed from Plymouth, and at Raleigh's expense established above a hundred colonists on the island of Roanoak. Drake's Great Armada left Plymouth in September of the same year. It marked a turning-point in the relations between the English and Spanish monarchs. Elizabeth, knowing that the suppression of the insurrection in the Netherlands would be followed by an attack upon England, was treating with the insurgents. Philip deemed it prudent to lay an embargo on all her subjects, together with their ships and goods, that might be found in his dominions. Elizabeth at once authorized general reprisals on the ships and goods of Spaniards. A company of adventurers was quickly formed for taking advantage of this permission on a scale commensurate with the national resources. They equipped an armada of twenty-five vessels, manned by 2,300 men, and despatched it under the command of Drake to plunder Spanish America. Frobisher was second in command. Two-thirds of the booty were to belong to the adventurers; the remaining third was to be divided among the men employed in the expedition.

Drake's armament of 1585 was the greatest that had ever crossed the Atlantic. After plundering some vessels at the Vigo river, he sailed for the West Indies by way of the Canaries and Cape Verde Islands, hoisted the English flag over Santiago and burnt the town, crossed the Atlantic in eighteen days, and arrived at Dominica. At daybreak, on New Year's Day, 1586, Drake's soldiers landed in Española, a few miles to the west of the capital, and before evening Carlile and Powell had entered the city, which the colonists only saved from destruction by the payment of a heavy ransom. Drake's plan was to do exactly the same at Carthagena and Nombre de Dios, and thence to strike across the isthmus and secure the treasure that lay waiting for transport at Panama. Drake held St. Domingo for a month, and Carthagena for six weeks. He was compelled to forego the further prosecution of his enterprise. A deadly fever, which had attacked the men during the sojourn at Santiago, still continued its ravages. In existing circumstances, even had Nombre de Dios been successfully attacked, the march to Panama was out of the question; and after consultation with the military commanders, Drake resolved on sailing home at once by way of Florida. He brought back with him all the colonists who had been left by Sir Richard Greenville in 'Virginia.' Drake had offered either to furnish them with stores, and to leave them a ship, or to take them home. The former offer was accepted: but a furious storm which ensued caused them to change their minds. They recognized in it the hand of God, whose will it evidently was that they should no longer be sojourners in the American wilderness; and the first English settlement of 'Virginia' was abandoned accordingly.

Ten years afterwards (1595) Drake was again at the head of a similar expedition. The second command was given to his old associate Hawkins, Frobisher, his Vice-Admiral in 1585, having recently died of the wound received at Crozon. This time Nombre de Dios was taken and burnt, and 750 soldiers set out under Sir Thomas Baskerville to march to Panama: but at the first of the three forts which the Spaniards had by this time constructed, the march had to be

abandoned. Drake did not long survive this second failure of his favourite scheme. He was attacked by dysentery a fortnight afterwards, and in a month he died. When he felt the hand of death upon him, he rose, dressed himself, and endeavoured to make a farewell speech to those around him. Exhausted by the effort, he was lifted to his berth, and within an hour breathed his last. Hawkins had died off Puerto Rico six weeks previously.

The following narrative is in the main the composition of Walter Biggs, who commanded a company of musketeers under Carlile. Biggs was one of the five hundred and odd men who succumbed to the fever. He died shortly after the fleet sailed from Carthagena; and the narrative was completed by some comrade. The story of this expedition, which had inflicted such damaging blows on the Spaniards in America, was eminently calculated to inspire courage among those who were resisting them in Europe. Cates, one of Carlile's lieutenants, obtained the manuscript and prepared it for the press, accompanied by illustrative maps and plans. The publication was delayed by the Spanish Armada; but a copy found its way to Holland, where it was translated into Latin, and appeared at Leyden, in a slightly abridged form, in 1588. The original English narrative duly appeared in London in the next year. The document called the 'Resolution of the Land-Captains' was inserted by Hakluyt when he reprinted the narrative in 1600.

DRAKE'S GREAT ARMADA.

[NARRATIVE MAINLY BY CAPTAIN WALTER BIGGS.]

A Summary and True Discourse of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S *West Indian Voyage, begun in the year 1585. Wherein were taken the cities of* SANTIAGO, SANTO DOMINGO, CARTHAGENA, *and the town of* ST. AUGUSTINE, *in* FLORIDA. *Published by* MASTER THOMAS CATES.

THIS worthy knight, for the service of his prince and country, having prepared his whole fleet, and gotten them down to *Plymouth*, in *Devonshire*, to the number of five and twenty sail of ships and pinnaces, and having assembled of soldiers and mariners to the number of 2,300 in the whole, embarked them and himself at *Plymouth* aforesaid, the 12. day of September, 1585, being accompanied with these men of name and charge which hereafter follow: Master *Christopher Carlile*, Lieutenant-General, a man of long experience in the wars as well by sea as land, who had formerly carried high offices in both kinds in many fights, which he discharged always very happily, and with great good reputation; *Anthony Powell*, Sergeant-Major; Captain *Matthew Morgan*, and Captain *John Sampson*, Corporals of the Field. These officers had commandment over the rest of the land-captains, whose names hereafter follow: Captain *Anthony Platt*, Captain *Edward Winter*, Captain *John Goring*, Captain *Robert Pew*, Captain *George Barton*, Captain *John Merchant*, Captain *William Cecil*, Captain *Walter Biggs*[1], Captain *John Hannam*,

[1] The writer of the first part of the narrative.

Captain *Richard Stanton.* Captain *Martin Frobisher*, Vice-Admiral, a man of great experience in seafaring actions, who had carried the chief charge of many ships himself, in sundry voyages before, being now shipped in the *Primrose*; Captain *Francis Knolles*, Rear-Admiral, in the galleon *Leicester*; Master *Thomas Venner*, captain in the *Elizabeth Bonadventure*, under the General; Master *Edward Winter*, captain in the *Aid*; Master *Christopher Carlile*, the Lieutenant-General, captain of the *Tiger*; *Henry White*, captain of the *Sea-Dragon*; *Thomas Drake*[1], captain of the *Thomas*; *Thomas Seeley*, captain of the *Minion*; *Baily*, captain of the bark *Talbot*; *Robert Cross*, captain of the bark *Bond*; *George Fortescue*, captain of the bark *Bonner*; *Edward Careless*, captain of the *Hope*; *James Erizo*, captain of the *White Lion*; *Thomas Moon*, captain of the *Francis*; *John Rivers*, captain of the *Vantage*; *John Vaughan*, captain of the *Drake*; *John Varney*, captain of the *George*; *John Martin*, captain of the *Benjamin*; *Edward Gilman*, captain of the *Scout*; *Richard Hawkins*, captain of the galliot called the *Duck*; *Bitfield*, captain of the *Swallow*.

After our going hence, which was the 14. of September, in the year of our Lord 1585, and taking our course towards *Spain*, we had the wind for a few days somewhat scant, and sometimes calm. And being arrived near that part of *Spain* which is called the *Moors*[2], we happened to espy divers sails, which kept their course close by the shore, the weather being fair and calm. The General caused the Vice-Admiral to go with the pinnaces well manned to see what they were; who upon sight of the said pinnaces approaching near unto them, abandoned for the most part all their ships, being Frenchmen, laden all with salt, and bound homewards

[1] Francis Drake's brother. [2] Muros, S. of Cape Finisterre.

into *France*. Amongst which ships, being all of small burthen, there was one so well liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought unto the General, he thought good to make stay of her for the service, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly he performed at our return; which bark was called the *Drake*. The rest of these ships, being eight or nine, were dismissed without anything at all taken from them. Who being afterwards put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with *Newland* fish, being upon their return homeward from the said *Newfoundland*; whom the General after some speech had with them, and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen, dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboard of them.

The day following, standing in with the shore again, we descried another tall ship of twelve score tons or thereabouts, upon whom *Master Carlile*, the Lieutenant-General, being in the *Tiger*, undertook the chase; whom also anon after the Admiral followed. And the *Tiger* having caused the said strange ship to strike her sails, kept her there without suffering anybody to go aboard until the Admiral was come up; who forthwith sending for the master, and divers others of their principal men, and causing them to be severally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of *St. Sebastian*, in *Spain*, but the mariners to be for the most part belonging to *St. John de Luz*, and the *Passage*[1]. In this ship was great store of dry *Newland* fish, commonly called with us *Poor John*; whereof afterwards, being thus found a lawful prize, there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly

[1] Pasages, E. of San Sebastian.

bestead us in the whole course of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship we put in within the Isles of *Bayon*[1], for lack of favourable wind. Where we had no sooner anchored some part of the fleet, but the General commanded all the pinnaces with the shipboats to be manned, and every man to be furnished with such arms as were needful for that present service; which being done, the General put himself into his galley, which was also well furnished, and rowing towards the city of *Bayon*, with intent, and the favour of the Almighty, to surprise it. Before we had advanced one half-league of our way there came a messenger, being an English merchant, from the governor, to see what strange fleet we were; who came to our General, conferred a while with him, and after a small time spent, our General called for Captain *Sampson*, and willed him to go to the governor of the city, to resolve him of two points. The first, to know *if there were any wars between Spain and England*; the second, *why our merchants with their goods were embarged or arrested?* Thus departed Captain *Sampson* with the said messenger to the city, where he found the governor and people much amazed of such a sudden accident. The General, with the advice and counsel of Master *Carlile*, his Lieutenant-General, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were within the shot of the city, where they might be ready upon the return of Captain *Sampson*, to make a sudden attempt, if cause did require, before it were dark.

Captain *Sampson* returned with his message in this sort:—First, touching peace or wars, the governor said *he knew of no wars, and that it lay not in him to make any, he being so mean a subject as he was. And as for the stay of the merchants with their goods, it was the king's pleasure,*

[1] The Cies Islets, at the mouth of the Vigo River.

but not with intent to endamage any man. And that the king's counter-commandment was (which had been received in that place some seven-night before) *that English merchants with their goods should be discharged.* For the more verifying whereof, he sent such merchants as were in the town of our nation, who trafficked those parts; which being at large declared to our General by them, counsel was taken what might best be done. And for that the night approached, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the shutting up of the day; and having quartered ourselves to our most advantage, with sufficient guard upon every strait, we thought to rest ourselves for that night there. The Governor sent us some refreshing, as bread, wine, oil, apples, grapes, marmalade, and such like. About midnight the weather began to overcast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repair aboard, than to make any longer abode on land. And before we could recover the fleet a great tempest arose, which caused many of our ships to drive from their anchor-hold, and some were forced to sea in great peril, as the bark *Talbot,* the bark *Hawkins,* and the *Speedwell*; which *Speedwell* only was driven into England, the others recovered us again. The extremity of the storm lasted three days; which no sooner began to assuage, but Master *Carlile,* our Lieutenant-General, was sent with his own ship and three others, as also with the galley and with divers pinnaces, to see what he might do above *Vigo,* where he took many boats and some carvels, diversely laden with things of small value, but chiefly with household stuff, running into the high country. And amongst the rest he found one boat laden with the principal church stuff of the high church of *Vigo,* where also was their great cross of silver, of very fair embossed work, and double-gilt all over, having cost them a great

mass of money. They complained to have lost in all kinds of goods above thirty thousand ducats in this place.

The next day the General with his whole fleet went from up the Isles of *Bayon* to a very good harbour above *Vigo*, where Master *Carlile* stayed his coming, as well for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commodity of fresh watering which the place there did afford full well. In the meantime the governor of *Galicia* had reared such forces as he might (his numbers by estimate were some 2000 foot and 300 horse), and marched from *Bayona* to this part of the country, which lay in sight of our fleet; where, making a stand, he sent to parley with our General. Which was granted by our General, so it might be in boats upon the water; and for safety of their persons there were pledges delivered on both sides. Which done, the governor of *Galicia* put himself with two others into our Vice-Admiral's skiff, the same having been sent to the shore for him, and in like sort our General went in his own skiff. Where by them it was agreed we should furnish ourselves with fresh water, to be taken by our own people quietly on the land, and have all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place would afford.

When all our business was ended we departed, and took our way by the Islands of *Canaria*, which are esteemed some 300 leagues from this part of *Spain*; and falling purposely with *Palma*, with intention to have taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order, and the better furnishing our store with such several good things as it affordeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile sea-gate, which at that present fell out, and by the naughtiness of the landing-place, being but one, and that under the

favour of many platforms well furnished with great ordnance, to depart with the receipt of many of their cannon-shot, some into our ships and some besides, some of them being in very deed full cannon high. But the only or chief mischief was the dangerous sea-surge, which at shore all alongst plainly threatened the overthrow of as many pinnaces and boats as for that time should have attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesaid, we thought it meeter to fall with the Isle *Ferro*, to see if we could find any better fortune; and coming to the island we landed a thousand men in a valley under a high mountain, where we stayed some two or three hours. In which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a young fellow born in *England*, who dwelt there with them, came unto us, shewing their state to be so poor that they were all ready to starve, which was not untrue; and therefore without anything gotten, we were all commanded presently to embark, so as that night we put off to sea south-south-east along towards the coast of *Barbary*.

Upon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of November, we fell with *Cape Blank*, which is a low land and shallow water, where we catched store of fish; and doubling the cape, we put into the bay, where we found certain French ships of war, whom we entertained with great courtesy, and there left them. This afternoon the whole fleet assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of *Cape Verde*, sailing till the 16. of the same month in the morning; on which day we descried the Island of *Santiago*. And in the evening we anchored the fleet between the town called the *Playa* or *Praya* and *Santiago*; where we put on shore 1000 men or more, under the leading of Master

Christopher Carlile, Lieutenant-General, who directed the service most like a wise commander. The place where we had first to march did afford no good order, for the ground was mountainous and full of dales, being a very stony and troublesome passage; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would never leave, until we had gotten up to a fair plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were all gathered together upon the plain, some two miles from the town, the Lieutenant-General thought good not to make attempt till daylight, because there was not one that could serve for guide or giving knowledge at all of the place. And therefore after having well rested, even half an hour before day, he commanded the army to be divided into three special parts, such as he appointed, whereas before we had marched by several companies, being thereunto forced by the badness of the way as is aforesaid. Now by the time we were thus ranged into a very brave order, daylight began to appear. And being advanced hard to the wall, we saw no enemy to resist. Whereupon the Lieutenant-General appointed Captain *Sampson* with thirty shot[1], and Captain *Barton* with other thirty, to go down into the town, which stood in the valley under us, and might very plainly be viewed all over from that place where the whole army was now arrived; and presently after these captains was sent the great ensign, which had nothing in it but the plain English cross, to be placed towards the sea, that our fleet might see *St. George's* cross flourish in the enemy's fortress. Order was given that all the ordnance throughout the town and upon all the platforms, which were about fifty pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queen's Majesty's coronation day, being the 17. of November, after the yearly custom of

[1] Musketeers.

England, which was so answered again by the ordnance out of all the ships in the fleet, which now was come near, as it was strange to hear such a thundering noise last so long together. In this mean while the Lieutenant-General held still the most part of his force on the hill-top, till such time as the town was quartered out for the lodging of the whole army. Which being done, every captain took his own quarter; and in the evening was placed such a sufficient guard upon every part of the town that we had no cause to fear any present enemy. Thus we continued in the city the space of fourteen days, taking such spoils as the place yielded, which were, for the most part, wine, oil, meal, and some other such like things for victual, as vinegar, olives, and some other trash, as merchandise for their Indian trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or anything else of worth besides.

The situation of *Santiago* is somewhat strange; in form like a triangle, having on the east and west sides two mountains of rock and cliff, as it were hanging over it; upon the top of which two mountains were builded certain fortifications to preserve the town from any harm that might be offered, as in a plot is plainly shewed. From thence on the south side of the town is the main sea; and on the north side, the valley lying between the foresaid mountains, wherein the town standeth. The said valley and town both do grow very narrow; insomuch that the space between the two cliffs of this end of the town is estimated not to be above ten or twelve score [yards] over. In the midst of the valley cometh down a riveret, rill, or brook of fresh water, which hard by the seaside maketh a pond or pool, whereout our ships were watered with very great ease and pleasure. Somewhat above the town on the north side, between the two mountains, the valley waxeth somewhat larger

than at the town's end; which valley is wholly converted into gardens and orchards, well replenished with divers sorts of fruits, herbs, and trees, as lemons, oranges, sugar-canes, *cocars* or cocos nuts, plantains, potato-roots, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlic, and some other things not now remembered. Amongst which the cocos nuts and plantains are very pleasant fruits; the said cocos hath a hard shell and a green husk over it, as hath our walnut, but it far exceedeth in greatness, for this cocos in his green husk is bigger than any man's two fists. Of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in *England*, and set in silver as I have often seen. Next within this hard shell is a white rind resembling in show very much, even as any thing may do, to the white of an egg when it is hard boiled. And within this white of the nut lieth a water, which is whitish and very clear, to the quantity of half a pint or thereabouts; which water and white rind before spoken of are both of a very cool fresh taste, and as pleasing as anything may be. I have heard some hold opinion that it is very restorative. The plantain groweth in cods, somewhat like to beans, but is bigger and longer, and much more thick together on the stalk; and when it waxeth ripe, the meat which filleth the rind of the cod becometh yellow, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant.

In this time of our being there happened to come a Portugal to the western fort, with a flag of truce. To whom Captain *Sampson* was sent with Captain *Goring*; who coming to the said messenger, he first asked them, *What nation they were?* they answered, *Englishmen*. He then required to know *if wars were between England and Spain*; to which they answered, *that they knew not, but if he would go to their General he could best resolve him of such particulars*. And for his assurance of passage and repassage these captains made offer to engage their

credits, which he refused for that he was not sent from his governor. Then they told him if his governor did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the people and country his best way were to come and present himself unto our noble and merciful governor, Sir *Francis Drake*, whereby he might be assured to find favour, both for himself and the inhabitants. Otherwise within three days we should march over the land, and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the sword all such living souls as we should chance upon. So thus much he took for the conclusion of his answer. And departing, he promised to return the next day; but we never heard more of him.

Upon the 24. of November, the General, accompanied with the Lieutenant-General and 600 men, marched forth to a village twelve miles within the land, called *Saint Domingo*, where the governor and the bishop, with all the better sort, were lodged; and by eight of the clock we came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountains. So we made stand a while to ease ourselves, and partly to see if any would come to speak to us. After we had well rested ourselves, the General commanded the troops to march away homewards. In which retreat the enemy shewed themselves, both horse and foot, though not such force as durst encounter us; and so in passing some time at the gaze with them, it waxed late and towards night before we could recover home to *Santiago*.

On Monday, the 26. of November, the General commanded all the pinnaces with the boats to use all diligence to embark the army into such ships as every man belonged. The Lieutenant-General in like sort commanded Captain *Goring* and Lieutenant *Tucker*, with one hundred shot, to make a stand in the market-place until our forces were wholly embarked; the Vice-

Admiral making stay with his pinnace and certain boats in the harbour, to bring the said last company aboard the ships. Also the General willed forthwith the galley with two pinnaces to take into them the company of Captain *Barton*, and the company of Captain *Biggs*, under the leading of Captain *Sampson*, to seek out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the town of *Praya*, or *Playa*, having been promised to be shewed it by a prisoner which was taken the day before.

The captains aforesaid coming to the *Playa*, landed their men; and having placed the troop in their best strength, Captain *Sampson* took the prisoner, and willed him to show that he had promised. The which he could not, or at least would not; but they searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordnance, one of iron, another of brass. In the afternoon the General anchored with the rest of the fleet before the *Playa*, coming himself ashore, willing us to burn the town and make all haste aboard; the which was done by six of the clock the same day, and ourselves embarked again the same night. And so we put off to sea south-west.

But before our departure from the town of *Santiago*, we established orders for the better government of the army. Every man mustered to his captain, and oaths were ministered, to acknowledge her Majesty supreme Governor, as also every man to do his uttermost endeavour to advance the service of the action, and to yield due obedience unto the directions of the General and his officers. By this provident counsel, and laying down this good foundation beforehand, all things went forward in a due course, to the achieving of our happy enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the governor for the said King of *Spain*, which is a Portugal, neither the bishop, whose authority is great, neither the inhabitants of the town, or island, ever came

at us; which we expected they should have done, to entreat us to leave them some part of their needful provisions, or at the least to spare the ruining of their town at our going away. The cause of this their unreasonable distrust, as I do take it, was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs that they had done to old Master *William Hawkins*, of *Plymouth*, in the voyage he made four or five years before, whenas they did both break their promise, and murdered many of his men; whereof I judge you have understood, and therefore it is needless to be repeated. But since they came not at us, we left written in sundry places, as also in the Spital House (which building was only appointed to be spared), the great discontentment and scorn we took at this their refraining to come unto us, as also at the rude manner of killing, and savage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boys found by them straggling all alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had straggled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly manner. In revenge whereof at our departing we consumed with fire all the houses, as well in the country which we saw, as in the town of *Santiago*.

From hence putting off to the *West Indies*, we were not many days at sea but there began among our people such mortality as in a few days there were dead above two or three hundred men. And until some seven or eight days after our coming from *Santiago*, there had not died any one man of sickness in all the fleet. The sickness showed not his infection, wherewith so many were strucken, until we were departed thence; and then seized our people with extreme hot burning and continual agues, whereof very few escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wits and strength for

a long time after. In some that died were plainly shown the small spots which are often found upon those that be infected with the plague. We were not above eighteen days in passage between the sight of *Santiago* aforesaid, and the island of *Dominica*, being the first island of the *West Indies* that we fell withal; the same being inhabited with savage people, which go all naked, their skin coloured with some painting of a reddish tawny, very personable and handsome strong men, who do admit little conversation with the Spaniards; for, as some of our people might understand them, they had a Spaniard or twain prisoners with them. Neither do I think that there is any safety for any of our nation, or any other, to be within the limits of their commandment; albeit they used us very kindly for those few hours of time which we spent with them, helping our folks to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh water from the river to our ships' boats, and fetching from their houses great store of *tabacco*, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called *cassavi*, very white and savoury, made of the roots of *cassavi*. In recompense whereof we bestowed liberal rewards of glass, coloured beads, and other things, which we had found at *Santiago*; wherewith, as it seemed, they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewed some sorrowful countenance when they perceived that we would depart.

From hence we went to another island westward of it, called *Saint Christopher's* Island; wherein we spent some days of Christmas, to refresh our sick people, and to cleanse and air our ships. In which island were not any people at all that we could hear of.

In which time by the General it was advised and resolved, with the consent of the Lieutenant-General, the Vice-Admiral, and all the rest of the captains,

to proceed to the great island of *Hispaniola*, as well for that we knew ourselves then to be in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto by the glorious fame of the city of *St. Domingo*, being the ancientest and chief inhabited place in all the tract of country thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the way we met a small frigate, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-Admiral took; and having duly examined the men that were in her, there was one found by whom we were advertised the haven to be a barred haven, and the shore or land thereof to be well fortified, having a castle thereupon furnished with great store of artillery, without the danger whereof was no convenient landing-place within ten English miles of the city, to which the said pilot took upon him to conduct us.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commanded in the evening to embark themselves in pinnaces, boats, and other small barks appointed for this service. Our soldiers being thus embarked, the General put himself into the bark *Francis* as Admiral; and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small sail until our arrival to the landing-place, which was about the breaking of the day. And so we landed, being New Year's Day, nine or ten miles to the westwards of that brave city of *St. Domingo*; for at that time nor yet is known to us any landing-place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to overset a pinnace or boat. Our General having seen us all landed in safety, returned to his fleet, bequeathing us to God, and the good conduct of Master *Carlile*, our Lieutenant-General; at which time, being about eight of the clock, we began to march. And about noon-time, or towards one of the clock, we approached the town; where the gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some

hundred and fifty brave horses, or rather more, began to present themselves. But our small shot played upon them, which were so sustained with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troop unprepared to receive them (for you must understand they viewed all round about) they were thus driven to give us leave to proceed towards the two gates of the town which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordnance for that present and sudden alarm without the gate, and also some troops of small shot in *ambuscado* upon the highway side. We divided our whole force, being some thousand or twelve hundred men, into two parts, to enterprise both the gates at one instant; the Lieutenant-General having openly vowed to Captain *Powell*, who led the troop that entered the other gate, that with God's good favour he would not rest until our meeting in the market-place.

Their ordnance had no sooner discharged upon our near approach, and made some execution amongst us, though not much, but the Lieutenant-General began forthwith to advance both his voice of encouragement and pace of marching; the first man that was slain with the ordnance being very near unto himself; and thereupon hasted all that he might, to keep them from the recharging of the ordnance. And notwithstanding their *ambuscados*, we marched or rather ran so roundly into them, as pell-mell we entered the gates, and gave them more care every man to save himself by flight, than reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. We forthwith repaired to the market-place, but to be more truly understood, a place of very spacious square ground; whither also came, as had been agreed, Captain *Powell* with the other troop. Which place with some

part next unto it, we strengthened with *barricados*, and there as the most convenient place assured ourselves, the city being far too spacious for so small and weary a troop to undertake to guard. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the castle, hearing us busy about the gates of the said castle, abandoned the same; some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the help of boats to the other side of the haven, and so into the country.

The next day we quartered a little more at large, but not into the half part of the town; and so making substantial trenches, and planting all the ordnance, that each part was correspondent to other, we held this town the space of one month.

In the which time happened some accidents, more than are well remembered for the present. But amongst other things, it chanced that the General sent on his message to the Spaniards a negro boy with a flag of white, signifying truce, as is the Spanish ordinary manner to do there, when they approach to speak to us; which boy unhappily was first met withal by some of those who had been belonging as officers for the king in the Spanish galley, which with the town was lately fallen into our hands. Who, without all order or reason, and contrary to that good usage wherewith we had entertained their messengers, furiously struck the poor boy thorough the body with one of their horsemen's staves; with which wound the boy returned to the General, and after he had declared the manner of this wrongful cruelty, died forthwith in his presence. Wherewith the General being greatly passioned, commanded the provost-marshal to cause a couple of friars, then prisoners, to be carried to the same place where the boy was strucken, accompanied with sufficient guard of our soldiers, and there presently to be hanged,

despatching at the same instant another poor prisoner, with this reason wherefore this execution was done, and with this message further, that until the party who had thus murdered the General's messenger were delivered into our hands to receive condign punishment, there should no day pass wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, until they were all consumed which were in our hands. Whereupon the day following, he that had been captain of the king's galley brought the offender to the town's end, offering to deliver him into our hands. But it was thought to be a more honourable revenge to make them there, in our sight, to perform the execution themselves; which was done accordingly.

During our being in this town, as formerly also at *Santiago* there had passed justice upon the life of one of our own company for an odious matter, so here likewise was there an Irishman hanged for the murdering of his corporal.

In this time also passed many treaties between their commissioners and us, for ransom of their city; but upon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in firing the outmost houses; but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high lofts, gave us no small travail to ruin them. And albeit for divers days together we ordained each morning by daybreak, until the heat began at nine of the clock, that two hundred mariners did naught else but labour to fire and burn the said houses without our trenches, whilst the soldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard; yet did we not, or could not in this time consume so much as one-third part of the town, which town is plainly described and set forth in a certain map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, we were contented to accept

of 25,000 ducats of five shillings six-pence the piece, for the ransom of the rest of the town.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at *St. Domingo,* I may not omit to let the world know one very notable mark and token of the unsatiable ambition of the Spanish king and his nation, which was found in the king's house, wherein the chief governor of that city and country is appointed always to lodge, which was this. In the coming to the hall or other rooms of this house, you must first ascend up by a fair large pair of stairs, at the head of which stairs is a handsome spacious place to walk in, somewhat like unto a gallery. Wherein, upon one of the walls, right over against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described and painted in a very large scutcheon the arms of the King of *Spain*; and in the lower part of the said scutcheon there is likewise described a globe, containing in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth, whereupon is a horse standing on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted up as it were to leap, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, NON SUFFICIT ORBIS, which is as much to say as, *The world sufficeth not.* Whereof the meaning was required to be known of some of those of the better sort that came in commission to treat upon the ransom of the town; who would shake their heads and turn aside their countenance, in some smiling sort, without answering anything, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was told them, that if the Queen of *England* would resolutely prosecute the wars against the King of *Spain,* he should be forced to lay aside that proud and unreasonable reaching vein of his; for he should find more than enough to do to keep that

which he had already, as by the present example of their lost town they might for a beginning perceive well enough.

Now to the satisfying of some men, who marvel greatly that such a famous and goodly-builded city, so well inhabited of gallant people, very brave in their apparel (whereof our soldiers found good store for their relief), should afford no greater riches than was found there. Herein it is to be understood that the Indian people, which were the natives of this whole island of *Hispaniola* (the same being near hand as great as *England*), were many years since clean consumed by the tyranny of the Spaniards; which was the cause that, for lack of people to work in the mines, the gold and silver mines of this island are wholly given over. And thereby they are fain in this island to use copper money, whereof was found very great quantity. The chief trade of this place consisteth of sugar and ginger, which groweth in the island, and of hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste country of the island are bred in infinite numbers, the soil being very fertile. And the said beasts are fed up to a very large growth, and so killed for nothing so much as for their hides aforesaid. We found here great store of strong wine, sweet oil, vinegar, olives, and other such-like provisions, as excellent wheat-meal packed up in wine-pipes and other cask, and other commodities likewise, as woollen and linen cloth and some silks; all which provisions are brought out of *Spain*, and served us for great relief. There was but a little plate or vessel of silver, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this town, because in these hot countries they use much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call *porcellana*, which is had out of the East *India*; and for their drinking they use glasses altogether, whereof

they make excellent good and fair in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things, as their household garniture, very gallant and rich, which had cost them dear, although unto us they were of small importance.

From *St. Domingo* we put over to the main or firm land, and, going all along the coast, we came at last in sight of *Carthagena*, standing upon the seaside, so near as some of our barks in passing alongst approached within the reach of their culverin shot, which they had planted upon certain platforms. The harbour-mouth lay some three miles toward the westward of the town, whereinto we entered at about three or four of the clock in the afternoon without any resistance of ordnance or other impeachment planted upon the same. In the evening we put ourselves on land towards the harbour-mouth, under the leading of Master *Carlile*, our Lieutenant-General. Who, after he had digested us to march forward about midnight, as easily as foot might fall, expressly commanded us to keep close by the sea-wash of the shore for our best and surest way; whereby we were like to go through, and not to miss any more of the way, which once we had lost within an hour after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that took upon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must have been done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the town, their horsemen, which were some hundred, met us, and, taking the alarm, retired to their townward again upon the first volley of our shot that was given them; for the place where we encountered being woody and bushy, even to the water-side, was unmeet for their service.

At this instant we might hear some pieces of artillery discharged, with divers small shot, towards the harbour;

which gave us to understand, according to the order set down in the evening before by our General, that the Vice-Admiral, accompanied with Captain *Venner*, Captain *White*, and Captain *Cross*, with other sea captains, and with divers pinnaces and boats, should give some attempt unto the little fort standing on the entry of the inner haven, near adjoining to the town, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry, very narrow, was chained over; so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt more than the giving of them an alarm on that other side of the haven, being a mile and a-half from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-Admiral had the rudder of his skiff strucken through with a saker[1] shot, and a little or no harm received elsewhere.

The troops being now in their march, half-a-mile behither the town or less, the ground we were on grew to be strait, and not above fifty paces over, having the main sea on the one side of it and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may term it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainly shewed. This strait was fortified clean over with a stone wall and a ditch without it, the said wall being as orderly built, with flanking in every part, as can be set down. There was only so much of this strait unwalled as might serve for the issuing of the horsemen or the passing of carriage in time of need. But this unwalled part was not without a very good *barricado* of wine-butts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thick as they might stand on end one by another, some part of them standing even within the main sea. This place of strength was furnished with six great pieces, demiculverins[2] and sakers, which shot directly in front upon us as we approached. Now without this wall, upon the inner side of the strait, they had brought

[1] Bore 3½ inches, shot 5 lb. [2] Bore 4½ inches, shot 9 lb.

likewise two great galleys with their prows to the shore, having planted in them eleven pieces of ordnance, which did beat all cross the strait, and flanked our coming on. In these two galleys were planted three or four hundred small shot, and on the land, in the guard only of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They, in this their full readiness to receive us, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant-General, taking the advantage of the dark (the daylight as yet not broken out) approached by the lowest ground, according to the express direction which himself had formerly given, the same being the sea-wash shore, where the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vain. Our Lieutenant-General commanded our shot to forbear shooting until we were come to the wall-side. And so with pikes roundly together we approached the place, where we soon found out the *barricados* of pipes or butts to be the meetest place for our assault; which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shots, was without staying attempted by us. Down went the butts of earth, and pell-mell came our swords and pikes together, after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemy's nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer than theirs, and our bodies better armed; for very few of them were armed. With which advantage our swords and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driven to give place. In this furious entry the Lieutenant-General slew with his own hands the chief ensign-bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his life's end.

We followed into the town with them, and, giving them no leisure to breathe, we won the market-place, albeit they made head and fought awhile before we got it. And so we being once seized and assured of that, they were content to suffer us to lodge within their

town, and themselves to go to their wives, whom they had carried into other places of the country before our coming thither. At every street's end they had raised very fine *barricados* of earth-works, with trenches without them, as well made as ever we saw any work done; at the entering whereof was some little resistance, but soon overcome it was, with few slain or hurt. They had joined with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of advantage, all bowmen, with their arrows most villainously empoisoned, so as if they did but break the skin, the party so touched died without great marvel. Some they slew of our people with their arrows; some they likewise mischiefed to death with certain pricks of small sticks sharply pointed, of a foot and a-half long, the one end put into the ground, the other empoisoned, sticking fast up, right against our coming in the way as we should approach from our landing towards the town, whereof they had planted a wonderful number in the ordinary way; but our keeping the sea-wash shore missed the greatest part of them very happily.

I overpass many particular matters, as the hurting of Captain *Sampson* at sword blows in the first entering, unto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the vant-guard by his lot and turn; as also of the taking of *Alonzo Bravo*, the chief commander of that place, by Captain *Goring*, after the said captain had first hurt him with his sword; unto which captain was committed the charge of the shot of the said vant-guard. Captain *Winter* was likewise by his turn of the vant-guard in this attempt, where also the Lieutenant-General marched himself; the said Captain *Winter*, through a great desire to serve by land, having now exchanged his charge at sea with Captain *Cecil* for his band of footmen. Captain *Powell*, the Serjeant-Major, had by his turn the charge

of the four companies which made the battle. Captain *Morgan*, who at *St. Domingo* was of the vant-guard, had now by turn his charge upon the companies of the rearward. Every man, as well of one part as of another, came so willingly on to the service, as the enemy was not able to endure the fury of such hot assault.

We stayed here six weeks, and the sickness with mortality before spoken of still continued among us, though not with the same fury as at the first; and such as were touched with the said sickness, escaping death, very few or almost none could recover their strength. Yea, many of them were much decayed in their memory, insomuch that it was grown an ordinary judgment, when one was heard to speak foolishly, to say he had been sick of the *calentura*, which is the Spanish name of their burning ague; for, as I told you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The original cause thereof is imputed to the evening or first night air, which they term *la serena*; wherein they say and hold very firm opinion that whoso is then abroad in the open air shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or natural race of those country people. By holding their watch our men were thus subjected to the infectious air, which at *Santiago* was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconvenience of continual mortality we were forced to give over our intended enterprise to go with *Nombre de Dios*, and so overland to *Panama*, where we should have strucken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompense of our tedious travails. And thus at *Carthagena* we took our first resolution to return homewards, the form of which resolution I thought good here to put down under the principal captains' hands as followeth:—

A Resolution *of the* Land-Captains, *what course they think most expedient to be taken. Given at* Carthagena, *the 27. of February, 1585.*

WHEREAS it hath pleased the General to demand the opinions of his captains what course they think most expedient to be now undertaken, the land-captains being assembled by themselves together, and having advised hereupon, do in three points deliver the same.

THE FIRST, touching the keeping of the town against the force of the enemy, either that which is present, or that which may come out of Spain, is answered thus :—

'We hold opinion, that with this troop of men which we have presently with us in land service, being victualled and munitioned, we may well keep the town, albeit that of men able to answer present service we have not above 700. The residue, being some 150 men, by reason of their hurts and sickness, are altogether unable to stand us in any stead: wherefore hereupon the sea-captains are likewise to give their resolution, how they will undertake the safety and service of the ships upon the arrival of any Spanish fleet.'

THE SECOND point we make to be this, whether it be meet to go presently homeward, or else to continue further trial of our fortune in undertaking such like enterprises as we have done already, and thereby to seek after that bountiful mass of treasure for recompense of our travails, which was generally expected at our coming forth of *England*: wherein we answer :—

'That it is well known how both we and the soldiers are entered into this action as voluntary men, without any impress or gage from her Majesty or anybody else. And forasmuch as we have hitherto discharged the parts of honest men, so that now by the great blessing and favour of our good God there have been taken three such notable towns, wherein by the estimation of all men would have been found some very great treasures, knowing that *Santiago* was the chief city of all the islands

and traffics thereabouts, *St. Domingo* the chief city of Hispaniola, and the head government not only of that island, but also of *Cuba*, and of all the islands about it, as also of such inhabitations of the firm land, as were next unto it, and a place that is both magnificently built and entertaineth great trades of merchandise; and now lastly the city of *Carthagena*, which cannot be denied to be one of the chief places of most especial importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this side of the *West India*: we do therefore consider, that since all these cities, with their goods and prisoners taken in them, and the ransoms of the said cities, being all put together, are found far short to satisfy that expectation which by the generality of the enterprisers was first conceived; and being further advised of the slenderness of our strength, whereunto we be now reduced, as well in respect of the small number of able bodies, as also not a little in regard of the slack disposition of the greater part of those which remain, very many of the better minds and men being either consumed by death or weakened by sickness and hurts; and lastly, since that as yet there is not laid down to our knowledge any such enterprise as may seem convenient to be undertaken with such few as we are presently able to make, and withal of such certain likelihood, as with God's good success which it may please him to bestow upon us, the same may promise to yield us any sufficient contentment: we do therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold sure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the same to return towards our gracious sovereign and country, from whence, if it shall please her Majesty to set us forth again with her orderly means and entertainment, we are most ready and willing to go through with anything that the uttermost of our strength and endeavour shall be able to reach unto. But therewithal we do advise and protest that it is far from our thoughts, either to refuse, or so much as to seem to be weary of anything, which for the present shall be further required or directed to be done by us from our General.'

THE THIRD and last point is concerning the ransom of this city of *Carthagena*, for the which, before

it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of some £27,000 or £28,000 sterling:—

'Thus much we utter herein as our opinions, agreeing, so it be done in good sort, to accept this offer aforesaid, rather than to break off by standing still upon our demands of £100,000; which seems a matter impossible to be performed for the present by them. And to say truth, we may now with much honour and reputation better be satisfied with that sum offered by them at the first, if they will now be contented to give it, than we might at that time with a great deal more; inasmuch as we have taken our full pleasure, both in the uttermost sacking and spoiling of all their household goods and merchandise, as also in that we have consumed and ruined a great part of their town with fire. And thus much further is considered herein by us; that as there be in the voyage a great many poor men, who have willingly adventured their lives and travails, and divers amongst them having spent their apparel and such other little provisions as their small means might have given them leave to prepare, which being done upon such good and allowable intention as this action hath always carried with it (meaning, against the Spaniard, our greatest and most dangerous enemy), so surely we cannot but have an inward regard, so far as may lie in us, to help them in all good sort towards the satisfaction of this their expectation; and by procuring them some little benefit to encourage them, and to nourish this ready and willing disposition of theirs, both in them and in others by their example, against any other time of like occasion. But because it may be supposed that herein we forget not the private benefit of ourselves, and are thereby the rather moved to incline ourselves to this composition, we do therefore think good for the clearing ourselves of all such suspicion, to declare hereby, that what part or portion soever it be of this ransom or composition for *Carthagena* which should come unto us, we do freely give and bestow the same wholly upon the poor men who have remained with us in the voyage (meaning as well the sailor as the soldier), wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might see a sufficient reward for their painful endeavour. And

for the firm confirmation thereof, we have thought meet to subsign these presents with our own hands in the place and time aforesaid.

'Captain *Christopher Carlile*, Lieutenant-General; Captain *Goring*, Captain *Sampson*, Captain *Powell*, &c.'

But while we were yet there, it happened one day that our watch called the sentinel, upon the church-steeple, had discovered in the sea a couple of small barks or boats, making in with the harbour of *Carthagena*. Whereupon Captain *Moon* and Captain *Varney*, with *John Grant*, the master of the *Tiger*, and some other seamen, embarked themselves in a couple of small pinnaces, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the harbour, lest by some straggling Spaniards from the land, they might be warned by signs from coming in. Which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our men could use: for the Spanish boats, upon the sight of our pinnaces coming towards them, ran themselves ashore, and so their men presently hid themselves in bushes hard by the sea-side, amongst some others that had called them by signs thither. Our men presently without any due regard had to the quality of the place, and seeing no man of the Spaniards to shew themselves, boarded the Spanish barks or boats, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shot at by a troop of Spaniards out of the bushes; by which volley of shot there were slain Captain *Varney*, which died presently, and Captain *Moon*, who died some few days after, besides some four or five others that were hurt: and so our folks returned without their purpose, not having any sufficient number of soldiers with them to fight on shore. For those men they carried were all mariners to row, few of them armed, because they made account with their ordnance to have taken the barks well

enough at sea; which they might full easily have done, without any loss at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards' boats had gotten so near the shore.

During our abode in this place, as also at *St. Domingo*, there passed divers courtesies between us and the Spaniards, as feasting, and using them with all kindness and favour; so as amongst others there came to see the General the governor of *Carthagena*, with the bishop of the same, and divers other gentlemen of the better sort. This town of *Carthagena* we touched in the out parts, and consumed much with fire, as we had done *St. Domingo*, upon discontentments, and for want of agreeing with us in their first treaties touching their ransom; which at the last was concluded between us should be 110,000 ducats for that which was yet standing, the ducat valued at five shillings sixpence sterling.

This town, though not half so big as *St. Domingo*, gives, as you see, a far greater ransom, being in very deed of far more importance, by reason of the excellency of the harbour, and the situation thereof to serve the trade of *Nombre de Dios* and other places, and is inhabited with far more richer merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with lawyers and brave gentlemen, being the chief or highest appeal of their suits in law of all the islands about it and of the mainland coast next unto it. And it is of no such account as *Carthagena*, for these and some like reasons which I could give you, over long to be now written.

The warning which this town received of our coming towards them from *St. Domingo*, by the space of 20 days before our arrival here, was cause that they had both fortified and every way prepared for their best defence. As also that they had carried and conveyed away all their treasure and principal substance.

The ransom of 110,000 ducats thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more than the town of *Carthagena*, upon the payment of the said ransom we left the said town and drew some part of our soldiers into the priory or abbey, standing a quarter of an English mile below the town upon the harbour water-side, the same being walled with a wall of stone; which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition. Whereupon they, finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ransom for all places, but specially for the said house, as also the blockhouse or castle, which is upon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when we asked as much for the one as for the other, they yielded to give a thousand crowns for the abbey, leaving us to take our pleasure upon the blockhouse, which they said they were not able to ransom, having stretched themselves to the uttermost of their powers; and therefore the said blockhouse was by us undermined, and so with gunpowder blown up in pieces. While this latter contract was in making, our whole fleet of ships fell down towards the harbour-mouth, where they anchored the third time and employed their men in fetching of fresh water aboard the ships for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well that is in the island by the harbour-mouth. Which island is a very pleasant place as hath been seen, having in it many sorts of goodly and very pleasant fruits, as the orange-trees and others, being set orderly in walks of great length together. Insomuch as the whole island, being some two or three miles about, is cast into grounds of gardening and orchards.

After six weeks' abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March; where, after two or three days, a great ship which we had taken at *St. Domingo*, and thereupon

was called *The New Year's Gift*, fell into a great leak, being laden with ordnance, hides, and other spoils, and in the night she lost the company of our fleet. Which being missed the next morning by the General, he cast about with the whole fleet, fearing some great mischance to be happened unto her, as in very deed it so fell out; for her leak was so great that her men were all tired with pumping. But at the last, having found her, and the bark *Talbot* in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her for the saving of them. And so the General, being fully advertised of their great extremity, made sail directly back again to *Carthagena* with the whole fleet; where, having staid eight or ten days more about the unlading of this ship and the bestowing thereof and her men into other ships, we departed once again to sea, directing our course toward the Cape *St. Anthony*, being the westermost part of *Cuba*, where we arrived the 27. of April. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weighed anchor and departed, thinking in few days to recover the *Matanzas*, a place to the eastward of *Havana*.

After we had sailed some fourteen days we were brought to Cape *St. Anthony* again through lack of favourable wind; but then our scarcity was grown such as need make us look a little better for water, which we found in sufficient quantity, being indeed, as I judge, none other than rain-water newly fallen and gathered up by making pits in a plot of marish ground some three hundred paces from the seaside.

I do wrong if I should forget the good example of the General at this place, who, to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of fresh water aboard the ships, took no less pain himself than the meanest; as also at *St. Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and all other places, having

always so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his fleet, accompanying them, as it is said, with such wonderful travail of body, as doubtless had he been the meanest person, as he was the chiefest, he had yet deserved the first place of honour; and no less happy do we account him for being associated with Master *Carlile*, his Lieutenant-General, by whose experience, prudent counsel, and gallant performance he achieved so many and happy enterprises of the war, by whom also he was very greatly assisted in setting down the needful orders, laws, and course of justice, and the due administration of the same upon all occasions.

After three days spent in watering our ships, we departed now the second time from this Cape of *St. Anthony* the 13. of May. And proceeding about the Cape of *Florida*, we never touched anywhere; but coasting alongst *Florida*, and keeping the shore still in sight, the 28. of May, early in the morning, we descried on the shore a place built like a beacon, which was indeed a scaffold upon four long masts raised on end for men to discover to the seaward, being in the latitude of thirty degrees, or very near thereunto. Our pinnaces manned and coming to the shore, we marched up alongst the river-side to see what place the enemy held there; for none amongst us had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the General took occasion to march with the companies himself in person, the Lieutenant-General having the vant-guard; and, going a mile up, or somewhat more, by the river-side, we might discern on the other side of the river over against us a fort which newly had been built by the Spaniards; and some mile, or thereabout, above the fort was a little town or village without walls, built of wooden houses, as the plot doth

plainly shew. We forthwith prepared to have ordnance for the battery; and one piece was a little before the evening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lieutenant-General himself at their ensign, strake through the ensign, as we afterwards understood by a Frenchman which came unto us from them. One shot more was then made, which struck the foot of the fort wall, which was all massive timber of great trees like masts. The Lieutenant-General was determined to pass the river this night with four companies, and there to lodge himself entrenched as near the fort as that he might play with his muskets and smallest shot upon any that should appear, and so afterwards to bring and plant the battery with him; but the help of mariners for that sudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cause that this determination was remitted until the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant-General took a little rowing skiff and half a dozen well armed, as Captain *Morgan* and Captain *Sampson*, with some others, besides the rowers, and went to view what guard the enemy kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as covertly as might be, yet the enemy, taking the alarm, grew fearful that the whole force was approaching to the assault, and therefore with all speed abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their pieces. They thus gone, and he being returned unto us again, but nothing knowing of their flight from their fort, forthwith came a Frenchman[1], being a fifer (who had been prisoner with them) in a little boat, playing on his fife the tune of the Prince of *Orange* his song. And being called unto by the guard, he told them before he

put foot out of the boat what he was himself, and how the Spaniards were gone from the fort; offering either to remain in hands there, or else to return to the place with them that would go.

Upon this intelligence the General, the Lieutenant-General, with some of the captains in one skiff and the Vice-Admiral with some others in his skiff, and two or three pinnaces furnished of soldiers with them, put presently over towards the fort, giving order for the rest of the pinnaces to follow. And in our approach some of the enemy, bolder than the rest, having stayed behind their company, shot off two pieces of ordnance at us; but on shore we went, and entered the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walls being none other than whole masts or bodies of trees set upright and close together in manner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholly intended with some more time. For they had not as yet finished all their work, having begun the same some three or four months before; so as, to say the truth, they had no reason to keep it, being subject both to fire and easy assault.

The platform whereon the ordnance lay was whole bodies of long pine-trees, whereof there is great plenty, laid across one on another and some little earth amongst. There were in it thirteen or fourteen great pieces of brass ordnance and a chest unbroken up, having in it the value of some two thousand pounds sterling, by estimation, of the king's treasure, to pay the soldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fifty men.

The fort thus won, which they called *St. John's Fort*, and the day opened, we assayed to go to the town, but could not by reason of some rivers and broken ground

which was between the two places. And therefore being enforced to embark again into our pinnaces, we went thither upon the great main river, which is called, as also the town, by the name of *St. Augustine.* At our approaching to land, there were some that began to shew themselves, and to bestow some few shot upon us, but presently withdrew themselves. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant-Major finding one of their horses ready saddled and bridled, took the same to follow the chase; and so overgoing all his company, was by one laid behind a bush shot through the head; and falling down therewith, was by the same and two or three more, stabbed in three or four places of his body with swords and daggers, before any could come near to his rescue. His death was much lamented, being in very deed an honest wise gentleman, and soldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called *St. Augustine* we understood the king did keep, as is before said, 150 soldiers, and at another place some dozen leagues beyond to the northwards, called *St. Helena,* he did there likewise keep 150 more, serving there for no other purpose than to keep all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coast; the government whereof was committed to one *Pedro Melendez,* marquis, nephew to that *Melendez* the Admiral, who had overthrown Master *John Hawkins* in the Bay of Mexico some 17 or 18 years ago. This governor had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

Here it was resolved in full assembly of captains, to undertake the enterprise of *St. Helena,* and from thence to seek out the inhabitation of our English countrymen in *Virginia,* distant from thence some six degrees north-

ward. When we came thwart of *St. Helena*, the shoals appearing dangerous, and we having no pilot to undertake the entry, it was thought meetest to go hence alongst. For the Admiral had been the same night in four fathom and a half, three leagues from the shore; and yet we understood, by the help of a known pilot, there may and do go in ships of greater burden and draught than any we had in our fleet. We passed thus along the coast hard aboard the shore, which is shallow for a league or two from the shore, and the same is low and broken land for the most part. The ninth of June upon sight of one special great fire (which are very ordinary all alongst this coast, even from the Cape of *Florida* hither) the General sent his skiff to the shore, where they found some of our English countrymen that had been sent thither the year before by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and brought them aboard; by whose direction we proceeded along to the place which they make their port. But some of our ships being of great draught, unable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wild road at sea, about two miles from shore. From whence the General wrote letters to Master *Ralph Lane*, being governor of those English in *Virginia*, and then at his fort about six leagues from the road in an island which they called *Roanoac*; wherein especially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants, which he understood of by those he had first talked withal.

The morrow after, Master *Lane* himself and some of his company coming unto him, with the consent of his captains he gave them the choice of two offers, that is to say: either he would leave a ship, a pinnace, and certain boats with sufficient masters and mariners, together furnished with a month's victual, to stay and make further discovery of the country and coasts, and so much

victual likewise as might be sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three persons) into *England*, if they thought good after such time, with any other thing they would desire, and that he might be able to spare: or else, if they thought they had made sufficient discovery already, and did desire to return into *England*, he would give them passage. But they, as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted very thankfully and with great gladness that which was offered first. Whereupon the ship being appointed and received into charge by some of their own company sent into her by Master *Lane*, before they had received from the rest of the fleet the provision appointed them, there arose a great storm (which they said was extraordinary and very strange) that lasted three days together, and put all our fleet in great danger to be driven from their anchoring upon the coast; for we brake many cables, and lost many anchors; and some of our fleet which had lost all, of which number was the ship appointed for Master *Lane* and his company, were driven to put to sea in great danger, in avoiding the coast, and could never see us again until we met in *England*. Many also of our small pinnaces and boats were lost in this storm.

Notwithstanding, after all this, the General offered them, with consent of his captains, another ship with some provisions, although not such a one for their turns as might have been spared them before, this being unable to be brought into their harbour: or else, if they would, to give them passage into *England*, although he knew he should perform it with greater difficulty than he might have done before. But Master *Lane*, with those of the chiefest of his company which he had then with him, considering what should be best for them to do, made request unto the General under their hands, that

they might have passage for *England*: the which being granted, and the rest sent for out of the country and shipped, we departed from that coast the 18. of June. And so, God be thanked, both they and we in good safety arrived at *Portsmouth* the 28. of July, 1586, to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our country, and ourselves. The total value of that which was got in this voyage is esteemed at three score thousand pounds, whereof the companies which have travailed in the voyage were to have twenty thousand pounds, the adventurers the other forty. Of which twenty thousand pounds (as I can judge) will redound some six pounds to the single share. We lost some 750 men in the voyage; above three parts of them only by sickness. The men of name that died and were slain in this voyage, which I can presently call to remembrance, are these:—Captain *Powell*, Captain *Varney*, Captain *Moon*, Captain *Fortescue*, Captain *Biggs*, Captain *Cecil*, Captain *Hannam*, Captain *Greenfield*; *Thomas Tucker*, a lieutenant; *Alexander Starkey*, a lieutenant; Master *Escot*, a lieutenant; Master *Waterhouse*, a lieutenant; Master *George Candish*, Master *Nicholas Winter*, Master *Alexander Carlile*, Master *Robert Alexander*, Master *Scroope*, Master *James Dyer*, Master *Peter Duke*. With some other, whom for haste I cannot suddenly think on.

The ordnance gotten of all sorts, brass and iron, were about two hundred and forty pieces, whereof the two hundred and some more were brass, and were thus found and gotten:—At *Santiago* some two or three and fifty pieces. In *St. Domingo* about four score, whereof was very much great ordnance, as whole cannon[1], demi-

[1] The 'whole cannon' had a bore of 8 inches, and carried a shot of 60 lb.: the 'demi-cannon' 6½ inches, shot 30 lb.: the culverin 5½ inches, shot 18 lb.

cannon, culverins, and such like. In *Carthagena* some sixty and three pieces, and good store likewise of the greater sort. In the Fort of *St. Augustine* were fourteen pieces. The rest was iron ordnance, of which the most part was gotten at *St. Domingo,* the rest at *Carthagena.*


HVMFRIDVS GILBERTVS MILES AVRATVS
Quid Non

GILBERT (b. 1539? d. 1583).

APART from the designs on Spanish America above described, it was natural that Gilbert, whose treatise written to prove the existence of a North-West Passage had contributed in so important a degree to stimulate enterprise in that direction (see above, page 84, line 17), should meditate the permanent occupation of the North American coasts. More than fifty years previously the Italian navigator Verrazzano had explored these coasts and ascertained the continuity of the great land in the South named after Amerigo Vespucci with the 'New-land' or 'Newfoundland' of the Northmen. South America had now been occupied in many parts by the Spaniards and Portuguese: the 'New-land,' re-discovered by John Cabot in the year 1497, was now annually resorted to by the fishermen of Spain, Portugal, France, and England. But the intermediate coast was as yet unoccupied by Europeans. The Spaniards had destroyed the French settlement in Florida, but for their own part had only built a single fort, not of very formidable aspect; and from Florida to Nova Scotia a fruitful virgin soil invited the colonist. Verrazzano's voyages (see above, p. xvi) had procured this coast the name of New France. But the intended French occupation had failed; and this name was destined to be replaced in a few years by the English name of Virginia (post, p. 329).

Sir Humfrey Gilbert's mother had married as her second husband a Devonshire gentleman named Walter Raleigh. Her youngest son, also named Walter Raleigh, was closely associated with Gilbert in his projects. Both Gilbert and Raleigh had studied cosmography at Oxford, and had become familiar with the history of the discovery and conquest of the New World; and no student of that history could believe that the destinies of the New World were unalterably fixed

by the Papal grant to Spain. That grant, however, had been so long acquiesced in that it was not easy to dispute it, unless upon some new ground; and accordingly an old story was revived with a new meaning. John Cabot, a Bristol seaman, had notoriously reached the mainland of America before Columbus himself. How far he had explored its coast is uncertain; but it is extremely improbable that he went so far southward as the Hudson river. When the vast extent of North America became known, and its future importance as a field of colonization was obvious, it was confidently alleged that Cabot, or his son Sebastian, or both, had coasted the continent from Labrador to Florida, and had thus acquired for England a title which superseded that of Spain and France. Elizabeth's accession put an end to the Spanish connexion, and gave such ideas a new stimulus. After the voyage of Hawkins in 1564 attention was more and more directed to these coasts. Tracts were written urging their occupation; the exploits of Hawkins and Drake had gone far to prove its feasibility; and funds were without difficulty raised for attempting it. 'The nakedness of the Spaniards, and their long-hidden secrets, whereby they went about to delude the world,' wrote Hakluyt, in 1582, 'are now espied.' England, it was urged, was overflowing with poor, who might be advantageously planted in this new soil. 'If we would behold,' Hakluyt goes on, 'with the eye of pity how all our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their country, which for small robberies are daily hanged up in great numbers, even twenty at a clap out of one jail (as was seen at the last assizes at Rochester), we would hasten and further, every man to his power, the deducting of some colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile parts of America, which, being within six weeks' sailing of England, are yet unpossessed by any Christians, and seem to offer themselves unto us, stretching nearer unto her Majesty's dominions than to any other part of Europe[1].' Following the line then usual in pulpit argument, the enthusiastic divine supported this view by the analogy

[1] Hakluyt, Dedication to *Divers Voyages*, pp. 1, 2.

of nature and the practice of antiquity. Bees send forth swarmings from the old hive; colonies were 'deducted' in old times by the Greeks and the Carthaginians. Hakluyt pointed to the successful colonization of Portuguese America, due to the suggestion of De Barros, a man of learning like himself. Brazil was no longer a deserted coast. It had its nine baronies or lordships, containing thirty ingenios or sugar-mills, each employing two or three hundred slaves, and having its judge and other civil officers, its church and clergy. Why should not these little communities be reproduced elsewhere? 'An excellent learned man' of Portugal had protested to Hakluyt that, were he but younger, he would sell all that he had to furnish a convenient number of ships for the colonization of these northern parts of America.

When Hakluyt was writing thus, Gilbert had already procured a grant, in the usual form, of such lands in these parts as he should discover and occupy (June 11, 1578). His first expedition sailed by the southern route in the same year (p. 283), but was worsted in an engagement near Cape Verde, with a Spanish squadron, and sustained other disasters. Gilbert now returned to service in Ireland. Subsequently he procured the means of making another attempt, in which he intended to take the northern route: and in June, 1583, twelve months before the expiry of his patent, Gilbert sailed from Cawsand Bay with five vessels, with the general intention of occupying the northern parts of America, beginning with Newfoundland. It was the first colonizing expedition which left Great Britain; and the narrative of the expedition by Hayes, who commanded one of the vessels, forms the first page in the history of English colonization. Gilbert did no more than go through the form of taking possession of St. John's, and the adjacent parts of the island of Newfoundland. When he crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Breton and Nova Scotia the season was far advanced; the *Delight*, his largest vessel, struck on a shoal, and became a wreck; all on board perished, including the Hungarian scholar Stephen Parmenius, who had come out as the historian of the expedition; most of the stores were lost, and the rest of the crews

became utterly dispirited. Gilbert therefore resolved on sailing homeward, intending to return and prosecute his enterprise in the next spring. During a violent storm encountered in the longitude of the Azores, his little vessel sank in the darkness, and the pioneer of English colonization found a watery grave. Few passages in English story are better known than that part of the present narrative which describes Gilbert as sitting abaft on the deck of the *Squirrel* with a book in his hand, cheering those in the *Hind* by reiterating 'We are as near to heaven by sea as by land' (p. 319). This aphorism is in substance taken from More's Utopia: possibly the book in his hand was Ralph Robinson's translation of More's tract[1]. The ill success of Gilbert's expedition induced Raleigh to abandon the northward route; and Amadas and Barlow, who were sent out by him to explore, sailed to the shores intended to be occupied by the easier but more circuitous one of the Canaries and the West Indies.

[1] 'Having customably in his mouth these sayings: *he that hath no grave is covered with the sky*; and *the way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distance.*' (Arber's reprint, p. 30.)

GILBERT'S VOYAGE.

A REPORT *of the* VOYAGE *and success thereof, attempted in the year of our Lord* 1583, *by* SIR HUMFREY GILBERT, KNIGHT, *with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countries extended northward from the Cape of* FLORIDA, *lying under very temperate climes, esteemed fertile and rich in minerals, yet not in the actual possession of any Christian prince. Written by* MR. EDWARD HAYES, gentleman, *and principal actor in the same voyage*[1], *who alone continued unto the end, and, by God's special assistance, returned home with his retinue safe and entire.*

MANY voyages have been pretended, yet hitherto never any thoroughly accomplished by our nation, of exact discovery into the bowels of those main, ample, and vast countries extended infinitely into the north from thirty degrees, or rather from twenty-five degrees, of septentrional latitude, neither hath a right way been taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment[2] upon the same, as well may appear both by the little we yet do actually possess therein, and by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which unto this day we know chiefly by the travel and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they cannot challenge such right and interest unto the said

[1] Hayes was captain and owner of the *Golden Hind*, Gilbert's Rear-Admiral.

[2] Government.

countries as we, neither these many years have had opportunity nor means so great to discover and to plant, being vexed with the calamities of intestine wars, as we have had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace, yet have they both ways performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled government of many provinces in those northerly parts of *America*, if their many attempts into those foreign and remote lands had not been impeached by their garboils at home.

The first discovery of these coasts, never heard of before, was well begun by *John Cabot* the father and *Sebastian* his son, an Englishman born, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the Cape of *Florida* unto those islands which we now call the *Newfoundland*; all which they brought and annexed unto the crown of *England*. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countries had been followed, as the discovery upon the coast and outparts thereof was performed by those two men, no doubt her Majesty's territories and revenue had been mightily enlarged and advanced by this day; and, which is more, the seed of Christian religion had been sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might have brought forth a most plentiful harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chief intent of such as shall make any attempt that way; or else whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtain happy success nor continuance.

And although we cannot precisely judge (which only belongeth to God) what have been the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countries, yet the events do shew that either God's cause hath not been chiefly preferred by them, or else God hath not permitted so abundant grace

as the light of His word and knowledge of Him to be yet revealed unto those infidels before the appointed time. But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept back, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectual and complete discovery and possession by Christians both of those ample countries and the riches within them hitherto concealed; whereof, notwithstanding, God in His wisdom hath permitted to be revealed from time to time a certain obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the minds of men that way, which else will be dull enough in the zeal of His cause, and thereby to prepare us unto a readiness for the execution of His will, against the due time ordained of calling those pagans unto Christianity.

In the meanwhile it behoveth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination unto this attempt, to examine his own motions, which, if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himself it cometh not of God, and therefore cannot have confidence of God's protection and assistance against the violence (else irresistible) both of sea and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may use [as] an instrument to further His cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation. Otherwise, if his motives be derived from a virtuous and heroical mind, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poor infidels captived by the devil, tyrannising in most wonderful and dreadful manner over their bodies and souls; advancement of his honest and well-disposed countrymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; relief of sundry people within this realm distressed; all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith He is well pleased, who will assist such an actor

beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himself, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is complete of receiving also these gentiles into His mercy, and that God will raise Him an instrument to effect the same; it seeming probable by event of precedent attempts made by the Spaniards and French sundry times, that the countries lying north of *Florida* God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after that *Christopher Columbus* had discovered the islands and continent of the *West Indies* for *Spain*, *John and Sebastian Cabot* made discovery also of the rest from *Florida* northwards to the behoof of *England*.

And whensoever afterwards the Spaniards, very prosperous in all their southern discoveries, did attempt anything into *Florida* and those regions inclining towards the north, they proved most unhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable success of many both religious and valiant in arms, endeavouring to bring those northerly regions also under the Spanish jurisdiction, as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed; as by their own gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

The French, as they can pretend less title unto these northern parts than the Spaniard, by how much the Spaniard made the first discovery of the same continent so far northward as unto *Florida*, and the French did but review that before discovered by the English nation, usurping upon our right, and imposing names upon countries, rivers, bays, capes, or headlands as if they had been the first finders of those coasts; which injury we offered not unto the Spaniards, but left off to

discover when we approached the Spanish limits; even so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent upon another's right, notwithstanding their manifold attempts, in which the issue hath been no less tragical than that of the Spaniards, as by their own reports is extant.

Then, seeing the English nation only hath right unto these countries of *America* from the Cape of *Florida* northward by the privilege of first discovery, unto which *Cabot* was authorised by regal authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous King *Henry* the Seventh; which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalf by the powerful hand of Almighty God withstanding the enterprises of other nations; it may greatly encourage us upon so just ground, as is our right, and upon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same), to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countries appertaining unto the crown of *England*; the same, as is to be conjectured by infallible arguments of the world's end approaching, being now arrived unto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if ever their calling unto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the revolution and course of God's word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the east towards, and at last unto, the west, where it is like to end, unless the same begin again where it did in the east, which were to expect a like world again. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophecy of *Christ*, whereby we gather that after His word preached thoroughout the world shall be the end. And as the Gospel when it descended westward began in the south, and afterward spread into the north of *Europe*; even so, as the same hath begun in the south

countries of *America*, no less hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the north.

These considerations may help to suppress all dreads rising of hard events in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heavy success and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman, Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, Knight, who was the first of our nation that carried people to erect an habitation and government in those northerly countries of *America*. About which albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leave unto God, and judge charitably both of the cause, which was just in all pretence, and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deserving honourable remembrance for his good mind and expense of life in so virtuous an enterprise. Whereby nevertheless, lest any man should be dismayed by example of other folks' calamity, and misdeem that God doth resist all attempts intended that way, I thought good, so far as myself was an eye-witness, to deliver the circumstance and manner of our proceedings in that action; in which the gentleman was so unfortunately encumbered with wants, and worse matched with many ill-disposed people, that his rare judgment and regiment premeditated for those affairs was subjected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to hold on a course more to uphold credit than likely in his own conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being always miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition, being the first attempt by our nation to plant, unto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter, not to be discouraged from it; but to make men well advised how they handle His so high and excellent matters, as the carriage is of His

word into those very mighty and vast countries. An action doubtless not to be intermeddled with base purposes, as many have made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarce justifiable; which doth excite God's heavy judgments in the end, to the terrifying of weak minds from the cause, without pondering His just proceedings; and doth also incense foreign princes against our attempts, how just soever, who cannot but deem the sequel very dangerous unto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength), seeing the very beginnings are entered with spoil.

And with this admonition denounced upon zeal towards God's cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable unto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of *America* (unto whom I wish all happiness), I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage undertaken with Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, begun, continued, and ended adversely.

When first Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* undertook the western discovery of *America*, and had procured from her Majesty a very large commission to inhabit and possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many privileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew unto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow unto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a king's power by sea. Nevertheless, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diverse, which bred a jar, and made a division in the end, to the confusion of that attempt even before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a manner prepared, and men ready upon the coast to

go aboard, at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended. Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the General with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea; where, having tasted of no less misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the loss of a tall ship and, more to his grief, of a valiant gentleman, *Miles Morgan.*

Having buried, only in a preparation, a great mass of substance, whereby his estate was impaired, his mind yet not dismayed, he continued his former designment, and purposed to revive this enterprise, good occasion serving. Upon which determination standing long without means to satisfy his desire, at last he granted certain assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of mean ability, desiring the privilege of his grant, to plant and fortify in the north parts of *America* about the river of *Canada*; to whom if God gave good success in the north parts (where then no matter of moment was expected), the same, he thought, would greatly advance the hope of the south, and be a furtherance unto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused, without prejudice unto him, by the former supposition that those north regions were of no regard. But chiefly, a possession taken in any parcel of those heathen countries, by virtue of his grant, did invest him of territories extending every way 200 leagues; which induced Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six years, if in that space he had not gotten actual possession.

Time went away without anything done by his assigns; insomuch that at last he must resolve himself to take

a voyage in person, for more assurance to keep his patent in force, which then almost was expired or within two years. In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, Sir *George Peckham*, Knight, shewed himself very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his advice and in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability joined unto him, resolving to adventure their substance and lives in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisite, some of them continued the charge two years complete without intermission. Such were the difficulties and cross accidents opposing these proceedings, which took not end in less than two years; many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in *Cawset* Bay, near unto *Plymouth*, then resolved to put unto the sea with shipping and provision such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the year, were too far spent. Nevertheless, it seemed first very doubtful by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discovery, either from the south northward or from the north southward. The first, that is, beginning south, without all controversy was the likeliest; wherein we were assured to have commodity of the current which from the Cape of *Florida* setteth northward, and would have furthered greatly our navigation, discovering from the foresaid cape along towards Cape *Breton*, and all those lands lying to the north. Also, the year being far spent, and arrived to the month of June, we were not to spend time in northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely winter, but to covet the south, which we had space enough then to have attained, and there might with less detriment have wintered that season, being more mild and short in

the south than in the north, where winter is both long and rigorous. These and other like reasons alleged in favour of the southern course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred that forasmuch as both our victuals and many other needful provisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the *Newfoundland* in our way, which was but 700 leagues from our English coast. Where being usually at that time of the year, and until the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieved abundantly with many necessaries, which, after the fishing ended, they might well spare and freely impart unto us. Not staying long upon that *Newland* coast, we might proceed southward, and follow still the sun, until we arrived at places more temperate to our content.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this northerly course, obeying unto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approach of winter, bringing with it continual fog and thick mists, tempest and rage of weather, also contrariety of currents descending from the Cape of *Florida* unto Cape *Breton* and Cape *Race*, would fall out to be great and irresistible impediments unto our further proceeding for that year, and compel us to winter in those north and cold regions. Wherefore, suppressing all objections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course northward, and to follow, directly as we might, the trade way unto *Newfoundland*; from whence, after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay, by God's permission, to proceed into the south, not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our

view worthy of search. Immediately we agreed upon the manner of our course and orders to be observed in our voyage; which were delivered in writing, unto the captains and masters of every ship a copy, in manner following.

Every ship had delivered two bullets or scrolls, the one sealed up in wax, the other left open; in both which were included several watchwords. That open, serving upon our own coast or the coast of Ireland; the other sealed, was promised on all hands not to be broken up until we should be clear of the Irish coast; which from thenceforth did serve until we arrived and met all together in such harbours of the *Newfoundland* as were agreed for our *rendez-vous*. The said watchwords being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together again; or one should hail another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboard of another in the dark.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keep secret that watchword while we were upon our own coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same; which known to an enemy, he might board us by night without mistrust, having our own watchword.

ORDERS *agreed upon by the* CAPTAINS *and* MASTERS *to be observed by the fleet of Sir* HUMFREY GILBERT.

FIRST, The Admiral to carry his flag by day, and his light by night.

2. Item, if the Admiral shall shorten his sail by night, then to shew two lights until he be answered again by every ship shewing one light for a short time.

3. Item, if the Admiral after his shortening of sail, as aforesaid, shall make more sail again; then he to shew three lights one above another.

4. Item, if the Admiral shall happen to hull in the

night, then to make a wavering light over his other light, wavering the light upon a pole.

5. Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soon as one shall descry another, to hoise both topsails twice, if the weather will serve, and to strike them twice again; but if the weather serve not, then to hoise the maintopsail twice, and forthwith to strike it twice again.

6. Item, if it shall happen a great fog to fall, then presently every ship to bear up with the Admiral, if there be wind; but if it be a calm, then every ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it clear. And if the fog do continue long, then the Admiral to shoot off two pieces every evening, and every ship to answer it with one shot; and every man bearing to the ship that is to leeward so near as he may.

7. Item, every master to give charge unto the watch to look out well, for laying aboard one of another in the night, and in fogs.

8. Item, every evening every ship to hail the Admiral, and so to fall astern him, sailing thorough the ocean; and being on the coast, every ship to hail him both morning and evening.

9. Item, if any ship be in danger in any way, by leak or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light; whereupon every man to bear towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out again; thereby to give knowledge that they have seen her token.

10. Item, whensoever the Admiral shall hang out her ensign in the main shrouds, then every man to come aboard her as a token of counsel.

11. Item, if there happen any storm or contrary wind to the fleet after the discovery, whereby they are separated; then every ship to repair unto their last good port, there to meet again.

OUR COURSE *agreed upon.*

THE course first to be taken for the discovery is to bear directly to Cape *Race*, the most southerly cape of *Newfoundland*; and there to harbour ourselves either in *Rogneux* or *Fermous*, being the first places appointed

for our *rendez-vous*, and the next harbours unto the northward of Cape *Race*: and therefore every ship separated from the fleet to repair to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the southward or to the northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten days; and when you shall depart, to leave marks.

Beginning our course from *Scilly*, the nearest is by west-south-west (if the wind serve) until such time as we have brought ourselves in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the ocean is subject much to southerly winds in June and July. Then to take traverse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be enforced by contrary winds; and not to go to the northward of the height of 47 degrees of septentrional latitude by no means, if God shall not enforce the contrary; but to do your endeavour to keep in the height of 46 degrees, so near as you can possibly, because Cape *Race* lieth about that height.

Note.

If by contrary winds we be driven back upon the coast of *England*, then to repair unto *Scilly* for a place of our assembly or meeting. If we be driven back by contrary winds that we cannot pass the coast of *Ireland*, then the place of our assembly to be at *Bere* haven or *Baltimore* haven. If we shall not happen to meet at Cape *Race*, then the place of *rendez-vous* to be at Cape *Breton*, or the nearest harbour unto the westward of Cape *Breton*. If by means of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the westward; every ship leaving their marks behind them for the more certainty of the after comers to know where to find them. The marks that every man ought to leave in such a case, were of the General's private device written by himself, sealed also in close wax, and delivered unto every ship one scroll, which was not to be opened until occasion required, whereby every man was certified what to leave for instruction of after comers; that every of us coming into any harbour or river might know who had been there, or whether

any were still there up higher into the river, or departed, and which way.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually given to be observed, every man withdrew himself unto his charge; the anchors being already weighed, and our ships under sail, having a soft gale of wind, we began our voyage upon Tuesday, the 11. day of June, in the year of our Lord 1583, having in our fleet (at our departure from *Cawset* Bay) these ships, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captains and masters of them, I have also inserted, as followeth:—1. The *Delight, alias* the *George,* of burthen 120 tons, was Admiral; in which went the General, and *William Winter,* captain in her and part owner, and *Richard Clarke,* master. 2. The bark *Raleigh,* set forth by Master *Walter Raleigh,* of the burthen of 200 tons, was then Vice-Admiral; in which went Master *Butler,* captain, and *Robert Davis,* of *Bristol,* master. 3. The *Golden Hind,* of burthen 40 tons, was then Rear-Admiral; in which went *Edward Hayes,* captain and owner, and *William Cox,* of *Limehouse,* master. 4. The *Swallow,* of burthen 40 tons; in her was captain *Maurice Browne.* 5. The *Squirrel,* of burthen 10 tons; in which went captain *William Andrews,* and one *Cade,* master. We were in number in all about 260 men; among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, and such like, requisite to such an action; also mineral men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety; not omitting the least toys, as morris-dancers, hobby-horse, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdashery wares to barter with those simple people.

In this manner we set forward, departing (as hath been said) out of *Cawset* Bay the 11. day of June, being Tuesday, the weather and wind fair and good all day; but a great storm of thunder and wind fell the same night. Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the evening, according to the order before specified, they signified unto us out of the Vice-Admiral, that both the captain, and very many of the men, were fallen sick. And about midnight the Vice-Admiral forsook us, notwithstanding we had the wind east, fair and good. But it was after credibly reported that they were infected with a contagious sickness, and arrived greatly distressed at *Plymouth*; the reason I could never understand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner, Master *Raleigh*, in setting them forth; therefore I leave it unto God. By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieved with the loss of the most puissant ship in our fleet; after whose departure the *Golden Hind* succeeded in the place of Vice-Admiral, and removed her flag from the mizen into the foretop. From Saturday, the 15. of June, until the 28., which was upon a Friday, we never had fair day without fog or rain, and winds bad, much to the west-north-west, whereby we were driven southward unto 41 degrees scarce.

About this time of the year the winds are commonly west towards the *Newfoundland*, keeping ordinarily within two points of west to the south or to the north; whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, April, and May, hath been performed out of England in 22 days and less. We had wind always so scant from west-north-west, and from west-south-west again, that our traverse was great, running south unto 41 degrees almost, and afterwards north into 51 degrees. Also we were encumbered with much fog and mists in manner palpable, in

which we could not keep so well together, but were dissevered, losing the company of the *Swallow* and the *Squirrel* upon the 20. day of July, whom we met again at several places upon the *Newfoundland* coast the 3. of August, as shall be declared in place convenient. Saturday, the 27. July, we might descry, not far from us, as it were mountains of ice driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were carried southward to the weather of us; whereby may be conjectured that some current doth set that way from the north.

Before we come to *Newfoundland*, about 50 leagues on this side, we pass the bank, which are high grounds rising within the sea and under water, yet deep enough and without danger, being commonly not less than 25 and 30 fathom water upon them; the same, as it were some vein of mountains within the sea, do run along and from the *Newfoundland*, beginning northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, and do extend into the south infinitely. The breadth of this bank is somewhere more, and somewhere less; but we found the same about ten leagues over, having sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward *Newfoundland*, but found no ground with almost 200 fathom of line, both before and after we had passed the bank. The Portugals, and French chiefly, have a notable trade of fishing upon this bank, where are sometimes an hundred or more sails of ships, who commonly begin the fishing in April, and have ended by July. That fish is large, always wet, having no land near to dry, and is called *cod* fish. During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is upon the bank, by the incredible multitude of sea-fowl hovering over the same, to prey upon the offals and garbage of fish thrown out by fishermen, and floating upon the sea.

Upon Tuesday, the 11. of June, we forsook the coast of

England. So again [on] Tuesday, the 30. of July, seven weeks after, we got sight of land, being immediately embayed in the *Grand Bay*, or some other great bay; the certainty whereof we could not judge, so great haze and fog did hang upon the coast, as neither we might discern the land well, nor take the sun's height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude. Forsaking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing unto us but hideous rocks and mountains, bare of trees, and void of any green herb) we followed the coast to the south, with weather fair and clear. We had sight of an island named *Penguin*, of a fowl there breeding in abundance almost incredible, which cannot fly, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much less than a goose) and exceeding fat, which the Frenchmen use to take without difficulty upon that island, and to barrel them up with salt. But for lingering of time, we had made us there the like provision.

Trending this coast, we came to the island called *Baccalaos*, being not past two leagues from the main; to the south thereof lieth Cape *St. Francis*, five leagues distant from *Baccalaos*, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the Bay of *Conception*. Here we met with the *Swallow* again, whom we had lost in the fog, and all her men altered into other apparel; whereof it seemed their store was so amended, that for joy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the air and overboard their caps and hats in good plenty. The captain, albeit himself was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humour and desert; who for the most part were such as had been by us surprised upon the narrow seas of *England*, being pirates, and had taken at that instant certain Frenchmen laden, one

bark with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, and took the man-of-war with all her men, which was the same ship now called the *Swallow*; following still their kind so oft as, being separated from the General, they found opportunity to rob and spoil. And because God's justice did follow the same company, even to destruction, and to the overthrow also of the captain (though not consenting to their misdemeanour) I will not conceal anything that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of His judgments, for examples of others; persuaded that God more sharply took revenge upon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others, by how much these went under protection of His cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Therefore upon further enquiry it was known how this company met with a bark returning home after the fishing with his freight; and because the men in the *Swallow* were very near scanted of victuals, and chiefly of apparel, doubtful withal where or when to find and meet with their Admiral, they besought the captain that they might go aboard this *Newlander*, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leave given, not without charge to deal favourably, they came aboard the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sails, cables, victuals, and the men of their apparel; not sparing by torture, winding cords about their heads, to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition, like men skilful in such mischief, as they took their cock-boat to go aboard their own ship, it was overwhelmed in the sea, and certain of these men there drowned; the rest were preserved even by those silly souls whom they had before spoiled, who saved and delivered them aboard the *Swallow*. What became afterwards of the

poor *Newlander*, perhaps destitute of sails and furniture sufficient to carry them home, whither they had not less to run than 700 leagues, God alone knoweth; who took vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant, to reveal the fact, and justify to the world God's judgments inflicted upon them, as shall be declared in place convenient.

Thus after we had met with the *Swallow*, we held on our course southward, until we came against the harbour called *St. John*, about five leagues from the former Cape of *St. Francis*, where before the entrance into the harbour, we found also the frigate or *Squirrel* lying at anchor; whom the English merchants, that were and always be Admirals by turns interchangeably over the fleets of fishermen within the same harbour, would not permit to enter into the harbour. Glad of so happy meeting, both of the *Swallow* and frigate in one day, being Saturday, the third of August, we made ready our fights[1], and prepared to enter the harbour, any resistance to the contrary notwithstanding, there being within of all nations to the number of 36 sails. But first the General despatched a boat to give them knowledge of his coming for no ill intent, having commission from her Majesty for his voyage he had in hand; and immediately we followed with a slack gale, and in the very entrance, which is but narrow, not above two butts' length[2], the Admiral fell upon a rock on the larboard side by great oversight, in that the weather was fair, the rock much above water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea-gate[3]. But we found such readiness in the English merchants to help us in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boats, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

[1] See Introduction, p. lxix. [2] Bow-shot. [3] Current.

Having taken place convenient in the road, we let fall anchors, the captains and masters repairing aboard our Admiral; whither also came immediately the masters and owners of the fishing fleet of Englishmen, to understand the General's intent and cause of our arrival there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalf of the crown of *England*, and the advancement of the Christian religion in those paganish regions, requiring but their lawful aid for repairing of his fleet, and supply of some necessaries, so far as conveniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other harbours adjoining. In lieu whereof he made offer to gratify them with any favour and privilege, which upon their better advice they should demand, the like being not to be obtained hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceed further south without long detention in those parts, he dismissed them, after promise given of their best endeavour to satisfy speedily his so reasonable request. The merchants with their masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great ordnance of their fleet in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that every ship of our fleet should deliver unto the merchants and masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships, as well English as strangers, were taxed at an easy rate to make supply. And besides, commissioners were appointed, part of our own company and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adjoining (for our English merchants command all there) to levy our provision: whereunto the Portugals, above other nations, did most willingly and liberally contribute. In so much as we were presented, above our allowance, with wines,

marmalades, most fine rusk[1] or biscuit, sweet oils, and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters, and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the manner is in their fishing, every week to choose their Admiral anew, or rather they succeed in orderly course, and have weekly their Admiral's feast solemnized: even so the General, captains, and masters of our fleet were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home the entertainment had been delightful; but after our wants and tedious passage through the ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world; where, at other times of the year, wild beasts and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

The next morning being Sunday, and the fourth of August, the General and his company were brought on land by English merchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the *Garden.* But nothing appeared more than nature itself without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wild, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plenty of rasps-berries, which do grow in every place.

Monday following, the General had his tent set up; who, being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the merchants and masters, both English and strangers, to be present at his taking possession of those countries. Before whom openly was read, and interpreted unto the strangers, his commission: by virtue whereof he took possession in the same harbour of *St. John*, and 200 leagues every way, invested the

[1] Rusk (Sp. rosca) = ship's biscuit.

Queen's Majesty with the title and dignity thereof, had delivered unto him, after the custom of England, a rod, and a turf of the same soil, entering possession also for him, his heirs and assigns for ever; and signified unto all men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territory appertaining to the Queen of *England*, and himself authorised under her Majesty to possess and enjoy it, and to ordain laws for the government thereof, agreeable, so near as conveniently might be, unto the laws of *England*, under which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabit, or by way of traffic, should be subjected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed and delivered three laws to be in force immediately. That is to say: the first for religion, which in public exercise should be according to the Church of *England*. The second, for maintenance of her Majesty's right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted prejudicial, the party or parties offending should be adjudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the laws of *England*. The third, if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Majesty, he should lose his ears, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by general voice and consent of the multitude, as well of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and government begun; after this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterwards were erected not far from that place the arms of *England* engraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Majesty, and to the behoof of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, knight, his heirs and assigns

for ever, the General granted in fee-farm divers parcels of land lying by the water-side, both in this harbour of *St. John*, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commodity, being thereby assured, by their proper inheritance, of grounds convenient to dress and to dry their fish; whereof many times before they did fail, being prevented by them that came first into the harbour. For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certain rent and service unto Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, his heirs or assigns for ever, and yearly to maintain possession of the same, by themselves or their assigns.

Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every ship was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adjoining. In the meanwhile, the General appointed men unto their charge: some to repair and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and provisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the country, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the General what either themselves could know by their own travail and experience, or by good intelligence of Englishmen or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drew plots of the country exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each man's several relation, I have drawn a brief description of the *Newfoundland*, with the commodities by sea or land already made, and such also as are in possibility and great likelihood to be made. Nevertheless the cards and plots that were drawn, with the due gradation of the harbours, bays, and capes, did perish with the Admiral: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

That which we do call the *Newfoundland*, and the Frenchmen *Baccalaos*, is an island, or rather, after the

opinion of some, it consisteth of sundry islands and broken lands, situate in the north regions of *America*, upon the gulf and entrance of a great river called *St. Lawrence* in *Canada*; into the which, navigation may be made both on the south and north side of this island. The land lieth south and north, containing in length between 300 and 400 miles, accounting from Cape *Race*, which is in 46 degrees 25 minutes, unto the *Grand Bay* in 52 degrees, of septentrional latitude. The land round about hath very many goodly bays and harbours, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the known world.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature and extreme cold that should be in this country, as of some part it may be verified, namely the north, where I grant it is more cold than in countries of *Europe*, which are under the same elevation: even so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the south parts should be so intemperate as the bruit hath gone. For as the same do lie under the climes of *Bretagne, Anjou, Poictou* in *France*, between 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: unless upon the out-coast lying open unto the ocean and sharp winds, it must indeed be subject to more cold than further within the land, where the mountains are interposed as walls and bulwarks, to defend and to resist the asperity and rigour of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion that the *Newfoundland* might be the more subject to cold, by how much it lieth high and near unto the middle region. I grant that not in *Newfoundland* alone, but in *Germany, Italy* and *Afric*, even under the equinoctial line, the mountains are extreme cold, and seldom uncovered of snow, in their culm and highest tops, which cometh to pass by the same reason

that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneath them, it is found quite contrary. Even so, all hills having their descents, the valleys also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doth give in *Newfoundland*: though I am of opinion that the sun's reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in *Newfoundland*, nor generally throughout *America*, as in *Europe* or *Afric*: by how much the sun in his diurnal course from east to west, passeth over, for the most part, dry land and sandy countries, before he arriveth at the west of *Europe* or *Afric*, whereby his motion increaseth heat, with little or no qualification by moist vapours. Where[as], on the contrary, he passeth from *Europe* and *Afric* unto *America* over the ocean, from whence he draweth and carrieth with him abundance of moist vapours, which do qualify and enfeeble greatly the sun's reverberation upon this country chiefly of *Newfoundland*, being so much to the northward. Nevertheless, as I said before, the cold cannot be so intolerable under the latitude of 46, 47, and 48, especial within land, that it should be unhabitable, as some do suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the north by a great deal. And in these south parts there be certain beasts, ounces or leopards, and birds in like manner, which in the summer we have seen, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldness. Besides, as in the months of June, July, August and September, the heat is somewhat more than in England at those seasons: so men remaining upon the south parts near unto Cape *Race*, until after holland-tide[1], have not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of *England*. Those which have arrived there after November and December have found the snow exceeding

[1] All-hallow-tide (November 1).

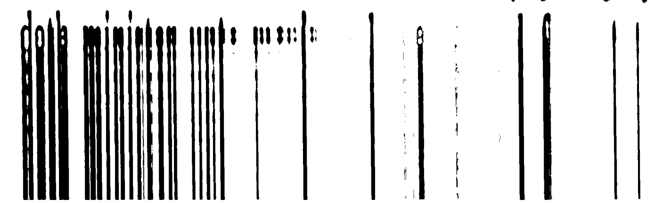
deep, whereat no marvel, considering the ground upon the coast is rough and uneven, and the snow is driven into the places most declining, as the like is to be seen with us. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land upon the plainer countries, which also are defended by the mountains, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those south parts, above that with us here, it cannot be so great as in *Swedeland*, much less in *Moscovia* or *Russia*: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigour of cold is dispensed with by the commodity of stoves, warm clothing, meats and drinks: all of which need not to be wanting in the *Newfoundland*, if we had intent there to inhabit.

In the south parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned those coasts, the same being so much frequented by Christians; but in the north are savages altogether harmless. Touching the commodities of this country, serving either for sustentation of inhabitants or for maintenance of traffic, there are and may be made divers; so that it seemeth that nature hath recompensed that only defect and incommodity of some sharp cold, by many benefits; namely, with incredible quantity, and no less variety, of kinds of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as trouts, salmons, and other fish to us unknown; also cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world; abundance of whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bays of *Placentia* and the *Grand Bay*, where is made train oil of the whale; herring, the largest that have been heard of, and exceeding the *Marstrand* herring of *Norway*; but hitherto was never benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate,

namely, the *bonito*, lobsters, turbot, with others infinite not sought after; oysters having pearl but not orient in colour; I took it, by reason they were not gathered in season.

Concerning the inland commodities, as well to be drawn from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adjoining, there is nothing which our east and northerly countries of *Europe* do yield, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully, by time and industry; namely, resin, pitch, tar, soap-ashes, deal-board, masts for ships, hides, furs, flax, hemp, corn, cables, cordage, linen cloth, metals, and many more. All which the countries will afford, and the soil is apt to yield. The trees for the most in those south parts are fir-trees, pine, and cypress, all yielding gum and turpentine. Cherry trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also pear-trees, but fruitless. Other trees of some sort to us unknown. The soil along the coast is not deep of earth, bringing forth abundantly peasen small, yet good feeding for cattle. Roses passing sweet, like unto our musk roses in form; raspises; a berry which we call whorts, good and wholesome to eat. The grass and herb doth fat sheep in very short space, proved by English merchants which have carried sheep thither for fresh victual and had them raised exceeding fat in less than three weeks. Peasen which our countrymen have sown in the time of May, have come up fair, and been gathered in the beginning of August, of which our General had a present acceptable for the rareness, being the first fruits coming up by art and industry in that desolate and dishabited land. Lakes or pools of fresh water, both on the tops of mountains and in the valleys; in which are said to be muscles not unlike to have pearl, which I had put in trial, if by mischance falling unto me I had not been

letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make. Fowl both of water and land in great plenty and diversity. All kind of green fowl; others as big as bustards, yet not the same. A great white fowl called of some a gaunt. Upon the land divers sorts of hawks, as falcons, and others by report. Partridges most plentiful, larger than ours, grey and white of colour, and rough-footed like doves, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and unable to fly. Birds, some like black-birds, linnets, canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kinds; red deer, buffles, or a beast as it seemeth by the tract and foot very large, in manner of an ox. Bears, ounces or leopards, some greater and some lesser; wolves, foxes, which to the northward a little further are black, whose fur is esteemed in some countries of *Europe* very rich. Otters, beavers, marterns; and in the opinion of most men that saw it, the General had brought unto him a sable alive, which he sent unto his brother, Sir *John Gilbert*, Knight, of *Devonshire*, but it was never delivered, as after I understood. We could not observe the hundredth part of creatures in those unhabited lands; but these mentioned may induce us to glorify the magnificent God, who hath super-abundantly replenished the earth with creatures serving for the use of man, though man hath not used the fifth part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish sloth in many of our nation, choosing rather to live indirectly, and very miserably to live and die within this realm pestered with inhabitants, than to adventure as becometh men, to obtain an habitation in those remote lands, in which nature very prodigally



mineral substance; iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not aver of richer metals; albeit by the circumstances following, more than hope may be conceived thereof.

For amongst other charges given to enquire out the singularities of this country, the General was most curious in the search of metals, commanding the mineral-man and refiner especially to be diligent. The same was a *Saxon*[1] born, honest, and religious, named *Daniel.* Who after search brought at first some sort of ore, seeming rather to be iron than other metal. The next time he found ore, which with no small show of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation that if silver were the thing which might satisfy the General and his followers, there it was, advising him to seek no further; the peril whereof he undertook upon his life (as dear unto him as the crown of *England* unto her Majesty, that I may use his own words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Myself at this instant liker to die than to live, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my own satisfaction; but afterward demanding our General's opinion therein, and to have some part of the ore, he replied, *Content yourself, I have seen enough; and were it but to satisfy my private humour, I would proceed no further. The promise unto my friends, and necessity to bring also the south countries within compass of my patent near expired, as we have already done these north parts, do only persuade me further. And touching the ore, I have sent it aboard, whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remain within harbour; here being both Portugals, Biscayans, and Frenchmen, not far off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea,*

[1] Probably from the mining district of Lower Saxony.

proof shall be made; if it be our desire, we may return the sooner hither again. Whose answer I judged reasonable, and contenting me well; wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the *Newfoundland*, and proceed to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

While the better sort of us were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriving of matters for the commodity of our voyage, others of another sort and disposition were plotting of mischief; some casting to steal away our shipping by night, watching opportunity by the General's and captains' lying on the shore; whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented. Others drew together in company, and carried away out of the harbours adjoining a ship laden with fish, setting the poor men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and means to return home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sick of fluxes, and many dead; and in brief, by one means or other our company was diminished, and many by the General licensed to return home. Insomuch as after we had reviewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grew scant of men to furnish all our shipping; it seemed good therefore unto the General to leave the *Swallow* with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sick people.

The captain of the *Delight*, or Admiral, returned into *England*, in whose stead was appointed captain *Maurice Browne*, before captain of the *Swallow*; who also brought with him into the *Delight* all his men of the *Swallow*, which before have been noted of outrage perpetrated and committed upon fishermen there met at sea.

The General made choice to go in his frigate the *Squirrel*, whereof the captain also was amongst them that returned into *England*; the same frigate being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbour or creek, which a great ship could not do. Therefore the frigate was prepared with her nettings and fights, and overcharged with bases and such small ordnance, more to give a show, than with judgment to foresee unto the safety of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their overthrow.

Now having made ready our shipping, that is to say, the *Delight*, the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, we put aboard our provision, which was wines, bread or rusk, fish wet and dry, sweet oils, besides many other, as marmalades, figs, limons barrelled, and such like. Also we had other necessary provisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withal, boats or pinnaces fit for discovery. In brief, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had been in a country or some city populous and plentiful of all things.

We departed from this harbour of *St. John's* upon Tuesday, the 20. of August, which we found by exact observation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes; and the next day by night we were at Cape *Race*, 25 leagues from the same harborough. This cape lieth south-south-west from *St. John's*; it is a low land, being off from the cape about half a league; within the sea riseth up a rock against the point of the cape, which thereby is easily known. It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes. Under this cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we laid out hooks and lines to take cod, and drew in less than two hours fish so large and in such abundance, that many days after we fed upon no other provision. From hence we shaped our course

unto the island of *Sablon*, if conveniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape *Breton*.

Sablon lieth to the seaward of Cape *Breton* about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to go upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, during our abode in *St. John's*, who was himself present when the Portugals, above thirty years past, did put into the same island both neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed unto us very happy tidings, to have in an island lying so near unto the main, which we intended to plant upon, such store of cattle, whereby we might at all times conveniently be relieved of victual, and served of store for breed.

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape *Race* stretcheth into the north-west, making a bay which some called *Trepassa*[1]. Then it goeth out again towards the west, and maketh a point, which with Cape *Race* lieth in manner east and west. But this point inclineth to the north, to the west of which goeth in the Bay of *Placentia*. We sent men on land to take view of the soil along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had will to be planted there. They saw pease growing in great abundance everywhere.

The distance between Cape *Race* and Cape *Breton* is 87 leagues; in which navigation we spent eight days, having many times the wind indifferent good, yet could we never attain sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindered by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of us escaped; where nevertheless we lost our Admiral[2] with all the men and provisions, not knowing certainly the place.

[1] From the Baie des Trépassés at the Pointe du Raz in Brittany, from which Cape Race itself is named.

[2] The *Delight*.

Yet for inducing men of skill to make conjecture, by our course and way we held from Cape *Race* thither, that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter, I have set down the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, *William Cox*, Master of the *Hind*, and *John Paul*, his mate, both of *Limehouse*. . . . Our course we held in clearing us of these flats was east-south-east, and south-east, and south, fourteen leagues, with a marvellous scant wind.

Upon Tuesday, the 27. of August, toward the evening, our General caused them in his frigate to sound, who found white sand at 35 fathom, being then in latitude about 44 degrees. Wednesday, toward night, the wind came south, and we bare with the land all that night, west-north-west, contrary to the mind of Master *Cox*; nevertheless we followed the Admiral, deprived of power to prevent a mischief, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold another course, alleging they could not make the ship to work better, nor to lie otherways. The evening was fair and pleasant, yet not without token of storm to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the swan that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or *Delight*, continued in sounding of trumpets, with drums and fifes; also winding the cornets and hautboys, and in the end of their jollity, left with the battle and ringing of doleful knells. Towards the evening also we caught in the *Golden Hind* a very mighty porpoise with a harping iron, having first stricken divers of them, and brought away part of their flesh sticking upon the iron, but could recover only that one. These also, passing through the ocean in herds, did portend storm. I omit to recite frivolous reports by them in the frigate, of strange voices the same night, which scared some from the helm.

Thursday, the 29. of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at south and by east, bringing withal rain and thick mist, so that we could not see a cable length before us; and betimes in the morning we were altogether run and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoal and deep in every three or four ships' length, after we began to sound: but first we were upon them unawares, until Master *Cox* looking out, discerned, in his judgment, white cliffs, crying *Land!* withal; though we could not afterward descry any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffs, through the haze and thick weather.

Immediately tokens were given unto the *Delight*, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burthen 120 tons, was yet foremost upon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recover it; for presently the Admiral struck aground, and had soon after her stern and hinder parts beaten in pieces; whereupon the rest (that is to say, the frigate, in which was the General, and the *Golden Hind*) cast about east-south-east, bearing to the south, even for our lives, into the wind's eye, because that way carried us to the seaward. Making out from this danger, we sounded one while seven fathom, then five fathom, then four fathom and less, again deeper, immediately four fathom, then but three fathom, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered, God be thanked, in some despair, to sea room enough.

In this distress, we had vigilant eye unto the Admiral, whom we saw cast away, without power to give the men succour, neither could we espy any of the men that leaped overboard to save themselves, either in the same pinnace, or cock, or upon rafters, and such like

means presenting themselves to men in those extremities, for we desired to save the men by every possible means. But all in vain, sith God had determined their ruin; yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and down as near unto the wrack as was possible for us, looking out if by good hap we might espy any of them.

This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chief ship freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travail, care, long time, and difficulty; but more was the loss of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundred souls. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, a Hungarian[1], born in the city of *Buda*, called thereof *Budæus*, who, of piety and zeal to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latin tongue the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discovery, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent style of this orator and rare poet of our time.

Here also perished our Saxon refiner and discoverer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of us in undoubted hope. No less heavy was the loss of the captain, *Maurice Brown*, a virtuous, honest, and discreet gentleman, overseen only in liberty given late before to men that ought to have been restrained, who showed himself a man resolved, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedy appeared, by report of them that escaped this wrack miraculously, as shall be hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the captain was advised before to shift also for his life, by the pinnace

[1] Stephen Parmenius.

at the stern of the ship; but refusing that counsel, he would not give example with the first to leave the ship, but used all means to exhort his people not to despair, nor so to leave off their labour, choosing rather to die than to incur infamy by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his default, showing an ill precedent unto his men, by leaving the ship first himself. With this mind he mounted upon the highest deck, where he attended imminent death, and unavoidable; how long, I leave it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his servants at such times.

In the mean season, certain, to the number of fourteen persons, leaped into a small pinnace, the bigness of a Thames barge, which was made in the *Newfoundland*, cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to God's mercy, amidst the storm, and rage of sea and winds, destitute of food, not so much as a drop of fresh water. The boat seeming overcharged in foul weather with company, *Edward Headly*, a valiant soldier, and well reputed of his company, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished than all, made this motion, to cast lots, and them to be thrown overboard upon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boat, which otherways seemed impossible to live, [and] offered himself with the first, content to take his adventure gladly: which nevertheless *Richard Clarke*, that was master of the Admiral, and one of this number, refused, advising to abide God's pleasure, who was able to save all, as well as a few. The boat was carried before the wind, continuing six days and nights in the ocean, and arrived at last with the men, alive, but weak, upon the *Newfoundland*, saving that the foresaid *Headly*, who had been late sick, and another called of us *Brazil*, of his travel into those

countries, died by the way, famished, and less able to hold out than those of better health. . . . Thus whom God delivered from drowning, he appointed to be famished; who doth give limits to man's times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom, again, he will preserve, neither sea nor famine can confound. For those that arrived upon the *Newfoundland* were brought into *France* by certain Frenchmen, then being upon the coast.

After this heavy chance, we continued in beating the sea up and down, expecting when the weather would clear up that we might yet bear in with the land, which we judged not far off either the continent or some island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fathoms, and less. The ground coming upon our lead, being sometime oozy sand and other while a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage daily after this ill success, the weather continuing thick and blustering, with increase of cold, winter drawing on, which took from them all hope of amendment, settling an assurance of worse weather to grow upon us every day. The leeside of us lay full of flats and dangers, inevitable if the wind blew hard at south. Some again doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of *St. Lawrence,* the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknown. But above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone with loss of our Admiral. Those in the frigate were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: whereupon they besought the General to return to *England,* before they all perished. And to them of the *Golden Hind* they made signs of distress, pointing to their mouths, and to their clothes thin and ragged: then immediately they also of the *Golden Hind*

grew to be of the same opinion and desire to return home.

The former reasons having also moved the General to have compassion of his poor men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of means fit to perform the action they came for, [he] resolved upon retire: and calling the captain and master of the *Hind*, he yielded them many reasons, enforcing this unexpected return, withal protesting himself greatly satisfied with that he had seen and knew already, reiterating these words; *Be content, we have seen enough, and take no care of expense past: I will set you forth royally the next spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.* Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the captain and master of the *Hind* condescended to this motion, his own company can testify; yet comforted with the General's promise of a speedy return at spring, and induced by other apparent reasons, proving an impossibility to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So upon Saturday in the afternoon, the 31. of August, we changed our course, and returned back for *England*. At which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along between us and towards the land which we now forsook a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour, not swimming after the manner of a beast by moving of his feet, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight, neither yet diving under, and again rising above the water, as the manner is of whales, dolphins, tunnies, porpoises, and all other fish: but confidently showing himself above water without hiding: notwithstanding, we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amaze him, as all creatures will be commonly at a

sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawing and gaping wide, with ugly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eyes; and to bid us a farewell, coming right against the *Hind*, he sent forth a horrible voice, roaring or bellowing as doth a lion, which spectacle we all beheld so far as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtless was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the General himself, I forbear to deliver: but he took it for *bonum omen*, rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy, if it were the devil. The wind was large for *England* at our return, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the frigate, wherein the General went, was almost swallowed up.

Monday in the afternoon we passed in sight of Cape *Race*, having made as much way in little more than two days and nights back again, as before we had done in eight days from Cape *Race* unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back again, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our return. This Monday the General came aboard the *Hind*, to have the surgeon of the *Hind* to dress his foot, which he hurt by treading upon a nail: at which time we comforted each other with hope of hard success to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to carry out lights always by night, that we might keep together, he departed into his frigate, being by no means to be entreated to tarry in the *Hind*, which had been more for his security. Immediately after followed a sharp storm, which we overpassed for that time, praised be God.

The weather fair, the General came aboard the *Hind*

again, to make merry together with the captain, master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning until night. During which time there passed sundry discourses touching affairs past and to come, lamenting greatly the loss of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all his books and notes, and what else I know not, for which he was out of measure grieved, the same doubtless being some matter of more importance than his books, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered the same to be the ore which *Daniel* the Saxon had brought unto him in the *Newfoundland*. Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deep as, not able to contain himself, he beat his boy in great rage, even at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great ship, because upon a fair day, when we were becalmed upon the coast of the *Newfoundland*, near unto Cape *Race*, he sent his boy aboard the *Admiral* to fetch certain things: amongst which, this being chief, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send again aboard the great ship, much less he doubted her ruin so near at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diversely, and by sundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich mine. For whereas the General had never before good conceit of these north parts of the world, now his mind was wholly fixed upon the *Newfoundland*. And as before he refused not to grant assignments liberally to them that required the same into these north parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of *St. John's*, which certain English merchants made suit for, offering to employ their money and travail upon the same: yet neither by their own suit, nor of

others of his own company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained. Also laying down his determination in the spring following for disposing of his voyage then to be re-attempted: he assigned the captain and master of the *Golden Hind* unto the south discovery, and reserved unto himself the north, affirming that this voyage had won his heart from the south, and that he was now become a northern man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had, at his arrival in *England*, to compass the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next spring, having determined upon two fleets, one for the south, another for the north; *Leave that to me,* he replied, *I will ask a penny of no man. I will bring good tidings unto her Majesty, who will be so gracious to lend me* £10,000; willing us therefore to be of good cheer; for *he did thank God,* he said, *with all his heart for that he had seen, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seek any further.* And these last words he would often repeat, with demonstration of great fervency of mind, being himself very confident and settled in belief of inestimable good by this voyage; which the greater number of his followers nevertheless mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the General kept unto himself. Yet all of them that are living may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at His good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedy, which must be knit up in the person of our General. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even so the vehement persuasion and entreaty of his friends could nothing avail to divert him of a wilful resolution of going through in his frigate; which was

overcharged upon the decks with fights, nettings, and small artillery, too cumbersome for so small a boat that was to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year, when by course we might expect much storm of foul weather. Whereof, indeed, we had enough.

But when he was entreated by the captain, master, and other his well-willers of the *Hind* not to venture in the frigate, this was his answer: *I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils.* And in very truth he was urged to be so over hard by hard reports given of him that he was afraid of the sea; albeit this was rather rashness than advised resolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the *Hind*, such as was wanting aboard his frigate. And so we committed him to God's protection, and set him aboard his pinnace, we being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of *Azores* south of us; yet we then keeping much to the north, until we had got into the height and elevation of *England*, we met with very foul weather and terrible seas, breaking short and high, pyramid-wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceed either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, as we see hills and vales upon the land, upon which the seas do mount and fall, or else the cause proceedeth of diversity of winds, shifting often in sundry points, all which having power to move the great ocean, which again is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had been diversity of winds. Howsoever it cometh to pass, men which all their lifetime had occupied the sea never saw more outrageous seas. We had also upon our mainyard an apparition of a little fire by night,

which seamen do call *Castor* and *Pollux*. But we had only one, which they take an evil sign of more tempest; the same is usual in storms.

Monday, the 9. of September, in the afternoon, the frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered; and giving forth signs of joy, the General, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to us in the *Hind*, so oft as we did approach within hearing, *We are as near to heaven by sea as by land!* Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried *the General was cast away*, which was too true. For in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after until we arrived upon the coast of *England*; omitting no small sail at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens between us agreed upon to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather and peril of drowning it pleased God to send safe home the *Golden Hind*, which arrived in *Falmouth* the 22. of September, being Sunday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw coming from the south-east, with such thick mist that we could not discern land to put in right with the haven. From *Falmouth* we went to *Dartmouth*, and lay there at anchor before the Range, while the captain went aland to enquire if there had been any news of the frigate, which, sailing well, might happily have been before us; also to certify Sir *John Gilbert*, brother unto the General, of our hard success, whom the captain desired,

while his men were yet aboard him, and were witnesses of all occurrences in that voyage, it might please him to take the examination of every person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithful endeavour. Sir *John Gilbert* refused so to do, holding himself satisfied with report made by the captain, and not altogether de spairing of his brother's safety, offered friendship and courtesy to the captain and his company, requiring to have his bark brought into the harbour; in furtherance whereof a boat was sent to help to tow her in.

Nevertheless, when the captain returned aboard his ship, he found his men bent to depart every man to his home; and then the wind serving to proceed higher upon the coast, they demanded money to carry them home, some to *London*, others to *Harwich*, and elsewhere, if the barque should be carried into *Dartmouth* and they discharged so far from home, or else to take benefit of the wind, then serving to draw nearer home, which should be a less charge unto the captain, and great ease unto the men, having else far to go. Reason accompanied with necessity persuaded the captain, who sent his lawful excuse and cause of this sudden departure unto Sir *John Gilbert*, by the boat of *Dartmouth*, and from thence the *Golden Hind* departed and took harbour at *Weymouth*. All the men tired with the tediousness of so unprofitable a voyage to their seeming, in which their long expense of time, much toil and labour, hard diet, and continual hazard of life was unrecompensed; their captain nevertheless by his great charges impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodness of God, and His undoubted providence following him in all that voyage, as it doth always those at other times whosoever have confidence in Him alone. Yet have we more near feeling and perseverance of His powerful hand and protection when God doth bring us together with others

into one same peril, in which He leaveth them and delivereth us, making us thereby the beholders, but not partakers, of their ruin. Even so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortality, spoilings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions more than in so small a fleet or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in every particularity, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes living, it pleased God to support this company, of which only one man died of a malady inveterate, and long infested, the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none else did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or prevented by death.

Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprise and last action of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, Knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meet to be published; wherein may always appear, though he be extinguished, some sparks of his virtues, he remaining firm and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discover, possess, and to reduce unto the service of God and Christian piety those remote and heathen countries of *America* not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining unto the crown of *England*: unto the which as his zeal deserveth high commendation, even so he may justly be taxed of temerity, and presumption rather, in two respects. First, when yet there was only probability, not a certain and determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commodity there *in esse*, to induce his followers; nevertheless, he both was too prodigal of his own patrimony and too careless of other men's expenses to employ both his and their substance upon

a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning, to be salved some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation. Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of ability and credit to perform his designments, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunity, and means which God might raise, he thrust himself again into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on God's behalf would carry him to the desired end. Into which having thus made re-entry, he could not yield again to withdraw, though he saw no encouragement to proceed; lest his credit, foiled in his first attempt, in a second should utterly be disgraced. Between extremities he made a right adventure, putting all to God and good fortune; and, which was worst, refused not to entertain every person and means whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition, the success whereof hath been declared.

But such is the infinite bounty of God, who from every evil deriveth good. For besides that fruit may grow in time of our travelling into those north-west lands, the crosses, turmoils, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humours which before we noted to be in this gentleman, and made unsavoury and less delightful his other manifold virtues. Then as he was refined, and made nearer drawing unto the image of God, so it pleased the Divine will to resume him unto Himself, whither both his and every other high and noble mind have always aspired.



NORTH AMERICA: MODERN PLACE-NAMES

AMADAS AND BARLOW.

On Gilbert's death Raleigh, his half-brother, succeeded to his enterprise, and obtained in March, 1584, a grant in similar form, to be carried into execution within six years. He resolved that there should be little delay in giving it effect. Before April was over, two small vessels quitted Plymouth for the purpose of taking possession of some fitting spot for a colony between Florida and Newfoundland. Raleigh directed that the northern route of Gilbert should be abandoned. American enterprise had thus early divided itself, in accordance with the physical conditions of the Atlantic Ocean, into northern and southern. Gilbert, we have seen, had declared in favour of the former: and his choice was justified, in the next generation, by the success which attended the French on the St. Lawrence, and the English in New England. But Raleigh had derived from his reading of the Spanish histories a strong predilection for the richer and more romantic south: and accordingly his two skippers, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, took the old route by the Canaries, and made the continent of North America in the latitude of North Carolina. They touched successively at the island of Wocokon (Ocracoke) at the entrance of Pamlico Sound, and at that of Roanoak, farther northward, near the mouth of Albemarle Sound, spent some weeks in viewing the country and trafficking with the natives, and then returned to England, with the report embodied in the narrative of Barlow which is here printed. The Queen was delighted with the prospect of an English settlement in this desirable land, and gave it the name of Virginia.

Raleigh's attempts at founding such a settlement were uniformly unfortunate. In the next year (1585) Greenville,

Lane, Cavendish, Amadas, and Hariot, sailed thither with seven ships carrying 180 persons, and established the first English colony on the continent of America. It lasted only a year. Wandering away from the settlement, the emigrants engaged in a fruitless quest of gold; their stores failed, and no provisions reached them from home; and all of them were brought back to England by Drake in 1586 (see above, page 231 and page 269). Shortly afterwards a ship with provisions despatched by Raleigh arrived on the coast, and returned to England after a fruitless search for the colonists. A few days passed, and three other ships commanded by Sir Richard Greenville arrived with the intention of reinforcing the colony. Greenville left fifteen men at Roanoak, with provisions for two years, in order to retain possession of the country, but all were massacred by the Indians. In the following year (1587) Raleigh sent a second expedition under John White, who sailed from Portsmouth with three vessels. White returned to England for supplies in the same year, leaving at Roanoak eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and eleven children. When he returned to Roanoak in 1590 he found the colony abandoned. The colonists had dispersed among the Indians. Most of them are said to have been massacred, and the residue became absorbed in the native population. The original settlement of 'Virginia' was made within the limits of what afterwards became the State of North Carolina. The colonies on the James River and Chesapeake Bay, afterwards so famous under the name bestowed by Elizabeth on her prospective American dominions, were founded twenty years later.

AMADAS AND BARLOW'S VOYAGE.

The FIRST VOYAGE *made to the coasts of* AMERICA, *with two barks, wherein were Captains* MASTER PHILIP AMADAS, *and* MASTER ARTHUR BARLOW, *who discovered part of the country now called* VIRGINIA, *Anno 1584. Written by one of the said captains, and sent to* SIR WALTER RALEIGH, *knight, at whose charge and direction the said voyage was set forth.*

The 27. day of April, in the year of our redemption 1584, we departed the west of *England*, with two barks well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandments delivered by yourself at our leaving the river of *Thames*. And I think it a matter both unnecessary, for the manifest discovery of the country, as also for tediousness' sake, to remember unto you the diurnal of our course, sailing thither and returning; only I have presumed to present unto you this brief discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succeed, as well to yourself, by whose direction and charge, and by whose servants, this our discovery hath been performed, as also to her Highness and the commonwealth. In which we hope your wisdom will be satisfied, considering that as much by us hath been brought to light as by those small means and number of men we had could any way have been expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May in this present year we arrived at the *Canaries*, and the tenth of June we were fallen with the islands of the West *Indies*, keeping a more south-westerly course than was needful, because we doubted that the current of the Bay of *Mexico*, disboguing between the Cape of *Florida* and *Havana*, had been of greater force than afterwards we found it to be. At which islands we found the air very unwholesome, and our men grew for the most part ill-disposed: so that having refreshed ourselves with sweet water and fresh victual, we departed the twelfth day of our arrival here. These islands, with the rest adjoining, are so well known to yourself, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

The second of July we found shoal water, where we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kind of odoriferous flowers; by which we were assured that the land could not be far distant. And keeping good watch and bearing but slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we sailed along the same 120 English miles before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three arquebus-shot within the haven's mouth, on the left hand of the same; and after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as rightful queen and princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesty's grant and letters patents, under her Highness' great Seal. Which being per-

formed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandy and low towards the water's side, but so full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them. Of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills, as in the plains, as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and myself having seen those parts of *Europe* that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the sea side towards the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean[1] height; and from thence we beheld the sea on both sides, to the north and to the south, finding no end any of both ways[2]. This land lay stretching itself to the west, which after we found to be but an island of twenty miles long, and not above six miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood, we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly cedar trees, and having discharged our arquebus-shot, such a flock of cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together.

This island had many goodly woods full of deer, coneys, hares and fowl, even in the midst of summer, in incredible abundance. The woods are not such as you find in *Bohemia*, *Moscovia*, or *Hercynia*, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest cedars of the world, far bettering the cedars of the *Azores*, of the *Indies*, or *Libanus*; pines, cypress, sassafras, the lentisk, or the tree that beareth the mastic; the tree that beareth the rind of black cinnamon, of which Master

[1] Middle. [2] Either way.

Winter brought from the Straits of *Magellan*; and many other of excellent smell and quality. We remained by the side of this island two whole days before we saw any people of the country. The third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us, having in it three persons. This boat came to the island side, four arquebus-shot from our ships; and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shore side towards us, and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us. Then the master and the pilot of the Admiral, *Simon Ferdinando*, and the captain, *Philip Amadas*, myself, and others, rowed to the land; whose coming this fellow attended, never making any shew of fear or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things, not understood by us, we brought him, with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine and our meat, which he liked very well; and, after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cove or creek adjoining. As soon as he was two bow-shoot into the water he fell to fishing, and in less than half-an-hour he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship and the other to the pinnace. Which, after he had, as much as he might, requited the former benefits received, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the king's brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of *Europe*. His name was *Granganimeo*, and the king is called *Wingina*; the country, *Wingandacoa*, and now,

by her Majesty, *Virginia*. The manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats, altogether as the first man did, a little from the ships by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like; the rest of his men stood round about him somewhat afar off. When we came to the shore to him, with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us; but, sitting still, he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed; and, being set, he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwards on ours, to shew we were all one, smiling and making shew the best he could of all love and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully and thankfully. None of the company durst speak one word all the time; only the four which were at the other end spake one in the other's ear very softly.

The king is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reverenced. The king himself in person was at our being there sore wounded in a fight which he had with the king of the next country, called *Piemacum*, and was shot in two places through the body, and once clean through the thigh, but yet he recovered; by reason whereof, and for that he lay at the chief town of the country, being six days' journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, we likewise gave somewhat to the other that sat with him on the mat. But

presently he arose and took all from them and put it into his own basket, making signs and tokens that all things ought to be delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants and followers. A day or two after this we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had for chamois, buff, and deer skins. When we shewed him all our packet of merchandise, of all things that he saw a bright tin dish most pleased him, which he presently took up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brim thereof and hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend him against his enemies' arrows. For those people maintain a deadly and terrible war with the people and king adjoining. We exchanged our tin dish for twenty skins, worth twenty crowns or twenty nobles; and a copper kettle for fifty skins, worth fifty crowns. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets and axes, and for knives, and would have given anything for swords; but we would not depart with any. After two or three days the king's brother came aboard the ships and drank wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof. And after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter, and two or three children. His wife was very well-favoured, of mean stature, and very bashful. She had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same. About her forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her husband many times. In her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle, whereof we delivered your worship a little bracelet, and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear, and some of the children of the king's

brother and other noblemen have five or six in either ear; he himself had upon his head a broad plate of gold, or copper; for, being unpolished, we knew not what metal it should be, neither would he by any means suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparel was as his wife's, only the women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the most part; and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut-coloured hair.

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kinds of dyes very excellent, and exchanged with us. But when *Granganimeo,* the king's brother, was present, none durst trade but himself, except such as wear red pieces of copper on their heads like himself; for that is the difference between the noblemen and the governors of countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to their king, nobility, and governors than these do. The king's brother's wife, when she came to us (as she did many times), was followed with forty or fifty women always. And when she came into the ship she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse, and one or two more. The king's brother always kept this order: as many boats as he would come withal to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore afar off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached. Their boats are made of one tree, either of pine, or of pitch-trees; a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in *England.* They have no edge-tools to

make them withal; if they have any they are very few, and those, it seems, they had 20 years since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wrack, which happened upon their coast, of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her, being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nails and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boats is thus: they burn down some great tree, or take such as are windfallen, and, putting gum and resin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow they cut out the coal with their shells, and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider they lay on gums, which burn away the timber, and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport 20 men. Their oars are like scoops, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serveth.

The king's brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had, and offered to lay a great box of pearl in gage for them; but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them know that we esteemed thereof, until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew, which now your worship doth very well understand. He was very just of his promise: for many times we delivered him merchandise upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brace or two of fat bucks, coneys, hares, fish the best of the world. He sent us divers kinds of fruits, melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, pease, and divers roots, and fruits very excellent good, and of their country corn, which is very white, fair, and well tasted, and groweth three

times in five months: in May they sow, in July they reap; in June they sow, in August they reap; in July they sow, in September they reap. Only they cast the corn into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turf with a wooden mattock or pickaxe. Ourselves proved the soil, and put some of our peas in the ground, and in ten days they were of 14 inches high. They have also beans very fair, of divers colours, and wonderful plenty, some growing naturally and some in their gardens; and so have they both wheat and oats. The soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world. There are above fourteen several sweet-smelling timber-trees, and the most part of their underwoods are bays and suchlike. They have those oaks that we have, but far greater and better.

After they had been divers times aboard our ships, myself with seven more went twenty mile into the river that runneth toward the city of *Skicoak*, which river they call *Occam*; and the evening following we came to an island which they call *Roanoak*, distant from the harbour by which we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses built of cedar and fortified round about with sharp trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially[1]. When we came towards it, standing near unto the water's side, the wife of *Granganimeo*, the king's brother, came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly. Her husband was not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore, for the beating of the billow. Others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the utter room (having five rooms in

[1] The site of the colony established in the following year (1585).

her house) she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them and dried them again. Some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat. After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house some wheat like furmenty, sodden venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boiled, and roasted, melons raw and sodden, roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits. Their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth they drink wine, and for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water; but it is sodden with ginger in it, and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable herbs and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty (after their manner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth; their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory. Their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweet; their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber. Within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons: but as soon as she

espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half-dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women to sit all night on the bank-side by us, and sent us into our boats fine mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to rest in their houses. But because we were few men, and if we had miscarried the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not adventure anything, although there was no cause of doubt; for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.

Beyond this island there is the mainland, and over against this island falleth into this spacious water the great river called *Occam* by the inhabitants, on which standeth a town called *Pomeiock*, and six days' journey from the same is situate their greatest city called *Skicoak*, which this people affirm to be very great; but the savages were never at it, only they speak of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirm it to be above one hour's journey about. Into this river falleth another great river called *Cipo*, in which there is found great store of muscles, in which there are pearls; likewise there descendeth into this *Occam* another river called *Nomopana*, on the one side whereof standeth a great town called *Chawanook*, and the lord of that town and country is called *Pooneno*. This *Pooneno* is not subject

to the king of *Wingandacoa,* but is a free lord. Beyond this country is there another king, whom they call *Menatonon,* and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the south-west, four days' journey, is situate a town called *Secotan,* which is the southernmost town of *Wingandacoa,* near unto which six-and-twenty years past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the country people preserved. And after ten days remaining in an out island unhabited, called *Wocokon,* they, with the help of some of the dwellers of *Secotan,* fastened two boats of the country together, and made masts unto them, and sails of their shirts, and having taken into them such victuals as the country yielded, they departed after they had remained in this out island three weeks. But shortly after, it seemed, they were cast away, for the boats were found upon the coast, cast a-land in another island adjoining. Other than these, there was never any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seen or heard of amongst these people, and these aforesaid were seen only of the inhabitants of *Secotan*; which appeared to be very true, for they wondered marvellously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in marvellous admiration, and all things else were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seen the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an arquebus, they would tremble thereat for very fear, and for the strangeness of the same, for the weapons which themselves use are bows and arrows. The arrows are but of small canes, headed with a sharp shell or tooth of a fish sufficient enough to kill a naked man. Their swords be of wood hardened; likewise they use wooden breast-

plates for their defence. They have beside a kind of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharp horns of a stag, or other beast. When they go to wars they carry about with them their idol, of whom they ask counsel, as the *Romans* were wont of the oracle of *Apollo.* They sing songs as they march towards the battle, instead of drums and trumpets. Their wars are very cruel and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civil dissensions which have happened of late years amongst them, the people are marvellously wasted, and in some places the country left desolate.

Adjoining to this country aforesaid, called *Secotan,* beginneth a country called *Pomovik,* belonging to another king, whom they call *Piemacum*; and this king is in league with the next king adjoining towards the setting of the sun, and the country *Newsiok,* situate upon a goodly river called *Neus.* These kings have mortal war with *Wingina,* king of *Wingandacoa*; but about two years past there was a peace made between the king *Piemacum* and the lord of *Secotan,* as these men which we have brought with us to England have given us to understand; but there remaineth a mortal malice in the *Secotans,* for many injuries and slaughters done upon them by this *Piemacum.* They invited divers men, and thirty women of the best of his country, to their town to a feast, and when they were altogether merry, and praying before their idol (which is nothing else but a mere delusion of the devil) the captain or lord of the town came suddenly upon them, and slew them every one, reserving the women and children; and these two have oftentimes since persuaded us to surprise *Piemacum* his town, having promised and assured us that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their persuasion be to the end they may be revenged of their enemies, or for

the love they bear to us, we leave that to the trial hereafter.

Beyond this island called *Roanoak* are many islands very plentiful of fruits and other natural increases, together with many towns and villages along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the islands, and some stretching up further into the land.

When we first had sight of this country, some thought the first land we saw to be the continent; but after we entered into the haven we saw before us another mighty long sea, for there lieth along the coast a tract of islands 200 miles in length, adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances. When you are entered between them, these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in some places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more, then there appeareth another great sea, containing in breadth in some places 40, in some 50, in some 20 miles over, before you come unto the continent; and in this enclosed sea there are above 100 islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is 16 miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly cedars, and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leisure to view. Besides this island there are many, as I have said, some of two, of three, of four, of five miles, some more, some less, most beautiful and pleasant to behold, replenished with deer, coneys, hares, and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Thus, Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery made this present voyage, as far forth as the shortness of the time we there continued would afford us to take view of; and so contenting ourselves

with this service at this time, which we hope hereafter to enlarge, as occasion and assistance shall be given, we resolved to leave the country, and to apply ourselves to return for *England*, which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the west of *England* about the midst of September.

And whereas we have above certified you of the country taken in possession by us to her Majesty's use, and so to yours by her Majesty's grant, we thought good for the better assurance thereof, to record some of the particular gentlemen, and men of account, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cavil to the title of the country, in her Majesty's behalf, may be prevented, which otherwise such as like not the action may use and pretend. Whose names are, Master *Philip Amadas*, Master *Arthur Barlow*, Captains; *William Greenville*, *John Wood*, *James Bromewich*, *Henry Greene*, *Benjamin Wood*, *Simon Ferdinando*, *Nicholas Petman*, *John Hughes*, of the company.

We brought home also two of the savages, being lusty men, whose names were *Wanchese* and *Manteo*.

CAVENDISH (b. 1555? d. 1592).

THOMAS CANDISH or CAVENDISH, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had not only squandered the savings of his minority, but had dissipated the substance of a large fortune, in the extravagances of Elizabeth's Court, bethought him of repairing his shattered means by American adventure. He first made acquaintance with the New World as the commander of one of the vessels in Raleigh's expedition to 'Virginia' in 1585 (p. 324). He returned with Greenville in the same year, and in the next planned an expedition modelled on the Famous Voyage of Drake. In July, 1586, he left Plymouth with three vessels, following Drake's track by way of the Canaries and the Guinea Coast to the shores of Brazil, which was reached in December. Early in the next year (1587) Cavendish made the Straits of Magellan, which it took him over six weeks to traverse, and coasted along the western shore of South America in search of plunder. His success was quite equal to his expectations. Before he reached the coast of California he had sunk many Spanish vessels, and collected a considerable cargo of silver and American produce. Cavendish had resolved to strike a yet more daring blow for fortune. He proposed to await, on the Californian coast, the arrival of the annual galleon from the Philippines, laden with the wealth of Asia; and on the 4th of November, 1587, while Cavendish was beating up and down off the headland of California, the great prize hove in sight. It was the *Santa Anna*, having on board 120,000 dollars in gold, besides large quantities of Oriental silks, satins, and damask, and rich spices and perfumes. Cavendish speedily laid her aboard, and captured her after an obstinate fight of several hours. Having put her crew on shore, emptied her of all her

treasures, and burnt her to the water's edge, Cavendish sailed due west across the Pacific, and reached the Philippines in the middle of January, 1588. He touched at several islands of the Malay archipelago, and visited Java, where he took pains to obtain exact information as to the condition and resources of the island, and found the natives and the Portuguese equally ready to welcome a deliverer from the despotism of Spain. Thence, after a run of nine weeks across the Indian Ocean, he made the Cape of Good Hope. Cavendish landed on the Island of St. Helena, of which the narrative gives an interesting description. Two months from St. Helena brought him back to Plymouth, after a voyage which had lasted over two years.

Three years elapsed before Cavendish sailed on his second expedition. It was as disastrous as the first had been prosperous. He was late in the season, and unusually bad weather prevented him from making the Straits until April, 1592. Cavendish did not reach the Pacific. The *Desire*, commanded by Davis, was forced back up the Straits by stress of weather, and followed the Admiral back to the coast of Brazil; and, after months of unexampled suffering and distress, her crew reached the coast of Ireland. Cavendish himself was spared the mortification of an inglorious return; for he died at sea before his ship reached home. Cavendish was the second English circumnavigator of the globe. The brilliant successes of his first expedition, and the tragic failure of the second, fixed both firmly in the public mind. They served to stimulate and confirm the spirit of English enterprise in the American and East Indian seas; and the name of the bold and unfortunate Suffolk gentleman-adventurer will always occupy a place on the roll of English worthies.


THOMAS CANDISH ARMIGER
Animum fortuna sequatur

CAVENDISH—FIRST VOYAGE.

The ADMIRABLE AND PROSPEROUS VOYAGE *of the Worshipful* MASTER THOMAS CAVENDISH[1], *of* TRIMLEY, *in the County of* SUFFOLK, *Esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth; begun in the year of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588. Written by* MASTER FRANCIS PRETTY, *lately of* EYE, *in* SUFFOLK, *a gentleman employed in the same action.*

WE departed out of *Plymouth* on Thursday, the 21. of July, 1586, with three sails, to wit, the *Desire*, a ship of 120 tons, the *Content*, of 60 tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, a bark of 40 tons; in which small fleet were 123 persons of all sorts, with all kind of furniture and victuals sufficient for the space of two years, at the charges of the Worshipful Master *Thomas Cavendish*, of *Trimley*, in the county of Suffolk, Esquire, being our General. On Tuesday, the 26. of the same month, we were 45 leagues from Cape *Finis-terræ*, where we met with five sails of Biscayans, coming from the *Grand Bay* in *Newfoundland*, as we supposed, which our Admiral shot at, and fought with them three hours, but we took none of them by reason the night grew on. The first of August we came in sight of *Forteventura*, one of the isles of the *Canaries*, about ten of the clock in the morning. On Sunday, being the seventh of August, we were gotten as high as *Rio del Oro*, on the coast of *Barbary*. On Monday, the 19. we fell with

[1] Hakluyt uniformly prints *Candish*.

Cape *Blanco*; but the wind blew so much at the north, that we could not get up where the canters[1] do use to ride and fish; therefore we lay off six hours west-south-west, because of the sand which lieth off the cape south-west and by south. The 15. day of the same month we were in the height of Cape *Verde*, by estimation 50 leagues off the same. The 18. *Sierra Leona* did bear east of us, being 45 leagues from us; and the same day the wind shifted to the north-west, so that by the 20. day of the said month we were in six degrees and a-half to the northward from the equinoctial line. On the 23. we put room for *Sierra Leona*, and the 25. day we fell with the point on the south side of *Sierra Leona*, which Master *Brewer* knew very well, and went in before with the *Content*, which was Vice-Admiral; and we had no less than five fathoms water when we had least, and had for fourteen leagues in south-west all the way running into the harbour of *Sierra Leona*, sixteen, fourteen, twelve, ten, and eight fathoms of water.

The 26. of the said month we put into the harborough, and in going in we had (by the southernmost point, when we had least) five fathoms water fair by the rock as it lieth at the said point; and after we came two or three cables' lengths within the said rock, we never had less than ten fathoms, until we came up to the road, which is about a league from the point, borrowing always on the south side until you come up to the watering-place, in which bay is the best road; but you must ride far into the bay, because there run marvellous great tides in the offing, and it floweth into the road next of anything at a south-east and by east moon. It is out of England to this place 930 leagues, which we ran from the 21. of July to the 26. of this month of August.

[1] See p. 189.

On Saturday, being the 27. day, there came two negroes aboard our Admiral from the shore, and made signs unto our General that there was a Portugal ship up within the harborough: so the *Hugh Gallant*, being the Rear-Admiral, went up three or four leagues, but for want of a pilot they sought no farther; for the harborough runneth three or four leagues up more, and is of a marvellous breadth and very dangerous, as we learned afterward by a Portugal.

On Sunday, the 28., the General sent some of his company on shore, and there as they played and danced all the forenoon among the negroes, to the end to have heard some good news of the Portugal ship, toward their coming aboard they espied a Portugal, which lay hid among the bushes; whom we took and brought away with us the same night, and he told us it was very dangerous going up with our boats for to seek the ship that was at the town. Whereupon we went not to seek her, because we knew he told us the truth; for we bound him and made him fast, and so examined him. Also he told us that his ship was there cast away, and that there were two more of his company among the negroes. The Portugal's name was *Emmanuel*, and was by his occupation a caulker, belonging to the *Port* of *Portugal*[1].

On Monday morning, being the 29. day, our General landed with 70 men, or thereabout, and went up to their town, where we burnt two or three houses, and took what spoil we would, which was but little; but all the people fled, and in our retiring aboard in a very little plain at their town's end they shot their arrows at us out of the woods, and hurt three or four of our men. Their arrows were poisoned, but yet none of our men miscarried at that time, thanked be God. Their town

[1] Oporto.

is marvellous artificially builded with mud walls, and built round, with their yards paled in, and kept very clean as well in their streets as in their houses. These negroes use good obedience to their king, as one of our men said, which was with them in pawn for the negroes which came first. There were in their town by estimation about one hundred houses.

The first of September there went many of our men on shore at the watering-place, and did wash shirts very quietly all the day, and the second day they went again, and the negroes were in ambush round about the place; and the carpenter of the Admiral going into the wood to do some special business, espied them by good fortune. But the negroes rushed out upon our men so suddenly, that in retiring to our boats many of them were hurt; among whom one *William Pickman*, a soldier, was shot into the thigh, who plucking the arrow out broke it, and left the head behind, and he told the chirurgeons that he plucked out all the arrow, because he would not have them lance his thigh; whereupon the poison wrought so that night, that he was marvellously swollen .... and the next morning he died, the piece of the arrow with the poison being plucked out of his thigh.

The third day of the said month, divers of our fleet went up four miles within the harbour with our boat, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and took lemons from the trees, and coming aboard again saw two buffes[1]. The sixth day we departed from *Sierra Leona*, and went out of the harborough, and stayed one tide three leagues from the point of the mouth of the harborough in six fathoms, and it floweth south-south-west. On Wednesday, being the seventh of the same month, we departed from one of the islands

[1] Buffaloes.



SOUTH AMERICA; MODERN PLACE-NAMES

of Cape *Verde, alias* the isles of *Madrabumba*, which is ten leagues distant from the point of *Sierra Leona*; and about five of the clock the same night we anchored two miles off the island, in six fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found plantains only upon the island. The eighth day one of our boats went out and sounded round about the island, and they passed through a sound at the west end of the island, where they found five fathoms round about the island, until they came into the very gut of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but two fathoms, and presently after six fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the east end of the island there was a town, where negroes do use at[1] sometimes, as we perceived by their provision.

There is no fresh water on all the south side, as we could perceive, but on the north side three or four very good places of fresh water; and all the whole island is a wood, save certain little places where their houses stand, which are environed round about with plantain trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meat. This place is subject marvellous much to thunder, rain, and lightning in this month. I think the reason is, because the sun is so near the line equinoctial. On Saturday, the tenth, we departed from the said island, about three of the clock in the afternoon, the wind being at the south-west.

The last of October, running west-south-west, about 24 leagues from Cape *Frio*, in *Brazil*, we fell with a great mountain which had a high round knop on the top of it, standing from it like a town, with two little islands from it.

The first of November we went in between the island of *St. Sebastian* and the main land, and had our things

[1] Frequent.

on shore, and set up a forge, and had our cask on shore; our coopers made hoops, and so we remained there until the 23. day of the same month, in which time we fitted our things, built our pinnace, and filled our fresh water. And while our pinnace was in building there came a canoe from the River of *Janeiro*, meaning to go to *St. Vincent*, wherein were six naked slaves of the country people, which did row the canoe, and one Portugal. And the Portugal knew *Christopher Hare*, master of the Admiral, for that Master *Hare* had been at *St. Vincent*, in the *Minion* of *London*, in the year 1581. And thinking to have *John Whithall*, the Englishman which dwelleth at *St. Vincent*, come unto us, which is 20 leagues from this harborough, with some other, thereby to have had some fresh victuals, we suffered the Portugal to go with a letter unto him, who promised to return or send some answer within ten days, for that we told him we were merchants, and would traffic with them. But we never received answer from him any more; and seeing that he came not according to appointment, our business being despatched, we weighed anchor, and set sail from *St. Sebastian* on the 23. of November.

The 16. day of December we fell with the coast of *America* in 47 degrees and a third, the land bearing west from us about six leagues off: from which place we ran along the shore until we came into 48 degrees. It is a steep beach all along. The 17. day of December, in the afternoon, we entered into an harborough, where our Admiral went in first. Wherefore our General named the said harborough *Port Desire*. In which harborough is an island or two, where there is wonderful great store of seals, and another island of birds, which are grey gulls. These seals are of a wonderful great bigness, huge, and monstrous of shape, and for the

fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to anything better than to a lion: their head, and neck, and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough hair: their feet are in manner of a fin, and in form like unto a man's hand; they breed and cast every month, giving their young milk, yet continually get they their living in the sea, and live altogether upon fish: their young are marvellous good meat, and being boiled or roasted, are hardly to be known from lamb or mutton. The old ones be of such bigness and force, that it is as much as four men are able to do to kill one of them with great cowl-staves[1]: and he must be beaten down with striking on the head of him: for his body is of that bigness that four men could never kill him, but only on the head. For being shot through the body with an arquebus or a musket, yet he will go his way into the sea, and never care for it at the present. Also the fowls that were there were very good meat, and great store of them: they have burrows in the ground like coneys, for they cannot fly. They have nothing but down upon their pinions: they also fish and feed in the sea for their living, and breed on shore.

This harborough is a very good place to trim ships in, and to bring them on ground, and grave them in, for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore we graved and trimmed all our ships there.

The 24. of December, being Christmas Even, a man and a boy of the Rear-Admiral went some forty score from our ships unto a very fair green valley at the foot of the mountains, where was a little pit or well which our men had digged and made some two or three days before to get fresh water, for there was none in all the harborough; and this was but brackish: therefore this man and boy came thither to wash their linen: and

[1] Stout poles, used for carrying casks.

being in washing at the said well, there were great store of Indians which were come down, and found the said man and boy in washing. These Indians being divided on each side of the rocks, shot at them with their arrows and hurt them both; but they fled presently, being about fifty or threescore, though our General followed them with but sixteen or twenty men. The man's name which was hurt was *John Garge*, the boy's name was *Lutch*: the man was shot clean through the knee, the boy into the shoulder, either of them having very sore wounds. Their arrows are made of little canes, and their heads are of a flint stone, set into the cane very artificially. They seldom or never see any Christians: they are as wild as ever was a buck or any other wild beast; for we followed them, and they ran from us as it had been the wildest thing in the world. We took the measure of one of their feet, and it was 18 inches long. Their use is when any of them die, to bring him or them to the cliffs by the sea-side, and upon the top of them they bury them, and in their graves are buried with them their bows and arrows, and all their jewels which they have in their life-time, which are fine shells which they find by the sea-side, which they cut and square after an artificial manner; and all is laid under their heads. The grave is made all with great stones of great length and bigness, being set all along full of the dead man's darts which he used when he was living. And they colour both their darts and their graves with a red colour which they use in colouring of themselves.

The 28. of December we departed out of the Port of *Desire*, and went to an island which lieth three leagues to the southward of it; where we trimmed our saved penguins with salt for victual all that and the next day, and departed along the coast south-west and by south.

The 30. day we fell with a rock which lieth about five leagues from the land, much like unto *Eddystone*, which lieth off the sound of *Plymouth*; and we sounded, and had 8 fathoms rocky ground, within a mile thereof, the rock bearing west-south-west. We went coasting along south-south-west, and found great store of seals all along the coast. This rock standeth in 48 degrees and a-half to the southward of the line.

The second day of January we fell with a very fair white cape, which standeth in 51 degrees, and had 7 fathoms water a league off the land. On the third day of the foresaid month we fell with another great white cape, which standeth in 52 degrees and 45 minutes; from which cape there runneth a low beach about a league to the southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Strait of *Magellan*, which is in divers places five or six leagues wide, and in two several places more narrow. Under this cape we anchored and lost an anchor, for it was a great storm of foul weather, and lasted three days very dangerous. The 6. day we put in for the Straits. The 7. day, between the mouth of the Straits and the narrowest place thereof, we took a Spaniard whose name was *Hernando*, who was there with 23 Spaniards more, which were all that remained of 400 which were left there three years before in these Straits of *Magellan*, all the rest being dead with famine. And the same day we passed through the narrowest of the Straits, where the aforesaid Spaniard shewed us the hull of a small bark, which we judged to be a bark called the *John Thomas*. It is from the mouth of the Straits unto the narrowest of the Straits 14 leagues, and the course lieth west and by north. The mouth of the Straits standeth in 52 degrees. From the narrowest of the Straits unto *Penguin* Island is ten leagues, and lieth

west-south-west somewhat to the southward, where we anchored the eighth day, and killed and salted great store of penguins for victuals.

The ninth day we departed from *Penguin* Island, and ran south-south-west to King *Philip's* City, which the Spaniards had built; which town or city had four forts, and every fort had in it one cast piece, which pieces were buried in the ground, the carriages were standing in their places unburied: we digged for them and had them all. They had contrived their city very well, and seated it in the best place of the Straits for wood and water: they had built up their churches by themselves: they had laws very severe among themselves, for they had erected a gibbet, whereon they had done execution upon some of their company. It seemed unto us that the whole living for a great space was altogether upon muscles and limpets, for there was not anything else to be had, except some deer which came out of the mountains down to the fresh rivers to drink. These Spaniards which were there, were only come to fortify the Straits, to the end that no other nation should have passage through into the South Sea, saving only their own; but as it appeared, it was not God's will so to have it. For during the time that they were there, which was two years at the least, they could never have anything to grow or in anywise prosper. And on the other side the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them, until their victuals grew so short, their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spain, and having no means to renew the same, that they died like dogs in their houses, and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our coming; until that in the end the town being wonderfully tainted with the smell and the savour of the dead people, the rest which remained alive were driven to bury such

things as they had there in their town either for provision or for furniture, and so to forsake the town, and to go along the sea-side, and seek their victuals to preserve them from starving, taking nothing with them, but every man his arquebus and his furniture that was able to carry it (for some were not able to carry them for weakness) and so lived for the space of a year and more with roots, leaves, and sometimes a fowl which they might kill with their piece. To conclude, they were determined to have travelled towards the River of *Plate*, only being left alive 23 persons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 400. In this place we watered and wooded well and quietly. Our General named this town *Port Famine*: it standeth in 53 degrees by observation to the southward.

The 14. day we departed from this place, and ran south-south-west and from thence south-west unto Cape *Froward*, 5 leagues west-south-west, which cape is the southermost part of all the straits, and standeth in the latitude of 54 degrees. From which cape we ran west and by north five leagues, and put into a bay or cove on the south side, which we called *Muscle* Cove, because there were great store of them: we rode therein six days, the wind being still westerly. The 21. of January we departed from *Muscle* Cove, and went north-west and by west ten leagues to a very fair sandy bay on the north side, which our General called *Elizabeth* Bay, and as we rode there that night, one of our men died which went in the *Hugh Gallant*, whose name was *Grey*, a carpenter by his occupation, and was buried there in that bay.

The two-and-twentieth we departed from *Elizabeth* Bay in the afternoon, and went about two leagues from that place, where there was a fresh-water river, where our General went up with the ship-boat about three

miles. Which river hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is low and champaign soil, and so we saw none other ground else in all the straits but that was craggy rocks and monstrous high hills and mountains. In this river are great store of savages, which we saw, and had conference with them. They were men-eaters, and fed altogether upon raw flesh and other filthy food; which people had preyed upon some of the Spaniards before spoken of. For they had gotten knives and pieces of rapiers to make darts of. They used all the means they could possibly to have allured us up farther into the river, of purpose to have betrayed us; which being espied by our General, he caused us to shoot at them with our arquebuses, whereby we killed many of them. So we sailed from this river to the Channel of St. *Jerome*, which is two leagues off.

From the river of St. *Jerome* about three or four leagues we ran west unto a cape which is on the north side; and from that cape into the mouth of the Straits the course lieth north-west and by west, and north-west. Between which place and the mouth of the Straits to the southward we lay in harborough until the 23. of February, by reason of contrary winds and most vile and filthy foul weather, with such rain and vehement stormy winds, which came down from the mountains and high hills, that they hazarded the best cables and anchors that we had for to hold, which if they had failed we had been in great danger to have been cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full month, we fed almost altogether upon muscles, and limpets, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking every day for them, as the fowls of the air do, where they can find food, in continual rainy weather. There is at every mile or two miles' end an harborough on both sides of

the land. And there are between the river of St. *Jerome* and the mouth of the Straits going into the South Sea about 34 leagues by estimation: so that the length of the whole Straits is about 90 leagues. And the said mouth of the Straits standeth in the same height that the entrance standeth in when we pass out of the North Sea, which is about 52 degrees and two-thirds to the southward of the line.

The 24. day of February we entered into the South Sea; and on the south side of the going out of the Straits is a fair high cape with a low point adjoining unto it; and on the north side are four or five islands which lie six leagues off the main, and much broken and sunken ground about them. By noon the same day we had brought these islands east of us five leagues off, the wind being southerly. The first of March a storm took us at north, which night the ships lost the company of the *Hugh Gallant*, being in 49 and an half, and 45 leagues from the land. This storm continued three or four days, and for that time we in the *Hugh Gallant*, being separated from the other two ships, looked every hour to sink, our bark was so leak, and ourselves so dilvered[1] and weakened with freeing it of water, that we slept not in three days and three nights.

The 15. of March, in the morning, the *Hugh Gallant* came in between the Island of *St. Mary* and the main, where she met with the Admiral and the *Content*, which had rid at the island called *La Mocha* two days, which standeth in the southerly latitude of 38 degrees; at which place some of our men went on shore with the Vice-Admiral's boat, where the Indians fought with them with their bows and arrows, and were marvellous wary of their calivers. These Indians were enemies

[1] Fatigued.

to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called *Arauco*, and took us for Spaniards, as afterward we learned. This place which is called *Arauco* is wonderful rich and full of gold-mines, and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they always returned with the greatest loss of men. For these Indians are marvellous desperate and careless of their lives to live at their own liberty and freedom. The 15. day aforesaid, in the afternoon, we weighed anchor and ran under the west side of St. *Mary* Island, where we rid very well in six fathoms water and very fair ground all that night. The 16. day our General went on shore himself with 70 or 80 men, everyone with his furniture. There came down to us certain Indians with two which were the principals of the island to welcome us on shore, thinking we had been Spaniards, for it is subdued by them; who brought us up to a place where the Spaniards had erected a church with crosses and altars in it. And there were about this church two or three storehouses, which were full of wheat and barley ready threshed and made up in cades[1] of straw to the quantity of a bushel of corn in every cade. The wheat and barley was as fair, as clean, and everyway as good as any we have in England. There were also the like cades full of potato roots, which were very good to eat, ready made up in the storehouses for the Spaniards against they should come for their tribute. This island also yieldeth many sorts of fruits, hogs, and hens. These Indians are held in such slavery by them that they dare not eat a hen or an hog themselves. But the Spaniards have made them all in that island Christians. Thus we fitted ourselves here with corn as much as we would have, and as many hogs as we had salt to powder them

[1] Casks, boxes.

withal, and great store of hens, with a number of bags of potato roots, and about 500 dried dog-fishes, and *Guinea* wheat, which is called *maize*. And, having taken as much as we would have, yet we left marvellous great store behind us. Our General had the two principals of the island aboard our ship, and provided great cheer for them, and made them merry with wine; and they in the end perceiving us to be no Spaniards, made signs, as near as our General could perceive, that if we would go over unto the mainland unto *Arauco*, that there was much gold, making us signs that we should have great store of riches. But because we could not understand them, our General made some haste, and within two or three days we furnished ourselves.

The 18. day, in the morning, we departed from this place, and ran all that day north-north-east about ten leagues, and at night lay with a short sail off and on the coast. The 19. we ran in east-north-east with the land, and bare in with a place called *The Conception*, where we anchored under an island, and departed the next morning without going on land. The 20. we departed from *The Conception*, and went into a little bay which was sandy, where we saw fresh water and cattle, but we stayed not there.

The 30. day we came into the Bay of *Quintero*, which standeth in 33 degrees and 50 minutes. The said day, presently after we were come to an anchor in the bay, there was a neatherd, or one that kept cattle, which lay upon the point of the hill asleep, which, when he awaked and had espied three ships which were come into the bay, before we could get on shore, he had caught an horse which was feeding by and rode his way as fast as ever he might; and our General, with thirty shot with him, went on shore. He had not been on

land one hour but there came three horsemen with bright swords towards us so hard as they might ride, until they came within some 20 or 30 score of us, and so stayed, and would come no nearer unto us. So our General sent unto them a couple of our men with their shot, and one *Fernando*, which was the Spaniard that we had taken up at the mouth of the Straits, which was one of the 400 that were starved there. But the Spaniards would not suffer our men to come near with their shot, but made signs that one of our men should come alone unto them; so the said *Fernando*, the Spaniard, went unto them, and our two men stood not far from them. They had great conference, and in the end *Fernando* came back from them and told our General that he had parleyed with them for some victuals, who had promised as much as we would have. Our General sent him back again with another message and another shot with him; and, being come near unto them, they would not suffer any more than one to approach them; whereupon our men let the Spaniard go unto them alone himself, who, being some good distance from them, they stayed but a small time together but that the said *Fernando* leaped up behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deep and damnable oaths which he had made constantly to our General and all his company never to forsake him, but to die on his side before he would be false. Our General, seeing how he was dealt withal, filled water all that day with good watch, and carried it aboard; and, night being come, he determined the next day to send into the country to find their town, and to have taken the spoil of it, and to have fired it if they could have found it.

The last of March Captain *Havers* went up into the country with 50 or 60 men with their shot and furniture

with them, and we travelled seven or eight miles into the land; and as we were marching along we espied a number of herds of cattle, of kine and bullocks, which were wonderful wild. We saw also great store of horses, mares, and colts, which were very wild and unhandled. There is also great store of hares and coneys, and plenty of partridges and other wild fowls. The country is very fruitful, with fair, fresh rivers all along full of wild fowl of all sorts. Having travelled so far that we could go no further for the monstrous high mountains, we rested ourselves at a very fair, fresh river running in and along fair low meadows at the foot of the mountains, where every man drunk of the river and refreshed themselves. Having so done, we returned to our ships the likest way that we thought their town should be. So we travelled all the day long, not seeing any man, but we met with many wild dogs. Yet there were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day by means of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from us, who had told them that our force was but small, and that we were wonderfully weak; who, though they did espy us that day, yet durst they not give the onset upon us. For we marched along in array, and observed good order, whereby we seemed a great number more than we were, until we came unto our ships that night again.

The next day, being the first of April, 1587, our men went on shore to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the water's side; and being early hard at their business were in no readiness. In which mean while there came pouring down from the hills almost 200 horsemen, and before our people could return to the rocks from the watering-place, 12 of them were cut off, part killed and part taken prisoners; the rest were

rescued by our soldiers, which came from the rocks to meet with them, who being but 15 of us that had any weapons on shore, yet we made the enemy retire in the end with loss of some 24 of their men, after we had skirmished with them an hour. The names of our men that were slain were these—*Thomas Lucas*, of *London*, soldier, *Richard Wheeler*, of *London*, *Robert Pitcher*, of *Norfolk*, soldier, *John Langston*, of *Gloucestershire*, *William Kingman*, of *Dorsetshire*, soldier, *William Hills*, of *Cornwall*, out of the Admiral. *William Byet*, of *Weymouth*, *Laurence Gamesby*, of *Newcastle*, killed out of the Vice-Admiral. *Henry Blackenals*, of *Weymouth*, *William Stevens*, of *Plymouth*, gunner, *William Pitt*, of *Sherborne*, in *Dorsetshire*, *Humfrey Derrick*, of *London*, killed out of the *Hugh Gallant*. After the loss of these men we rid in the road, and watered in despite of them with good watch and ward, until the fifth of the said month. The fifth day we departed out of this bay of *Quintero*, and off from the bay there lieth a little island about a league distant, whereon there are great store of penguins and other fowls; whereof we took to serve our turns, and sailed away north, and north and by west: for so lieth the coast along in this place.

The 15. we came thwart of a place which is called *Morro Moreno*, which standeth in 23 degrees and a-half, and is an excellent good harborough; and there is an island which maketh it an harborough, and a ship may go in at either end of the island. Here we went with our General on shore to the number of 30 men; and at our going on shore upon our landing, the Indians of the place came down from the rocks to meet with us, with fresh water and wood on their backs. They are in marvellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and live marvellous savagely; for they brought us to their bidings about two miles from the harbour,

where we saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skin of some beast laid upon the ground; and over them, instead of houses, is nothing but five or six sticks laid across, which stand upon two forks with sticks on the ground, and a few boughs laid on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely; and when any of them die, they bury their bows and arrows with them, with their *canoa* and all that they have; for we opened one of their graves, and saw the order of them. Their *canoas* or boats are marvellous artificially made of two skins like unto bladders, and are blown full at one end with quills. They have two of these bladders blown full, which are sewn together and made fast with a sinew of some wild beast, which when they are in the water swell, so that they are as tight as may be. They go to sea in these boats, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute unto the Spaniards; but they use it marvellous beastly.

The 23. in the morning we took a small bark which came out of *Arica* road, which we kept and called the *George*; the men forsook it, and went away with their boat. Our Admiral's pinnace followed the boat, and the *Hugh Gallant's* boat took the bark. Our Admiral's pinnace could not recover the boat before it got on shore, but went along into the road of *Arica*, and laid aboard a great ship of 100 tons, riding in the road right afore the town, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, only the bare ship was left alone. They made three or four very fair shots at the pinnace as she was coming in, but missed her very narrowly with a minion shot which they had in the fort. Whereupon we came into the road with the Admiral and the *Hugh Gallant*; but the *Content*, which was Vice-Admiral, was behind out of sight, by means whereof, and for want of her

boat to land men withal, we landed not; otherwise, if we had been together, our General with the company would resolutely have landed to take the town, whatsoever had come of it. The cause why the *Content* stayed behind was, that she had found about 14 leagues to the southward of *Arica*, in a place where the Spaniards had landed, a whole ship's lading of *botijas* of wine of *Castilia*, whereof the said *Content* took into her as many as she could conveniently carry, and came after us into the road of *Arica* the same day. By this time we perceived that the town had gathered all their power together, and also had conveyed all their treasure away, and buried it before we were come near the town; for they had heard of us. Now because it was very populous with the aid of one or two places up in the land, our General saw there was no landing without loss of many men; wherefore he gave over that enterprise. While we rid in the road, they shot at us; and our ships shot at them again for every shot two. Moreover our pinnace went in hard almost to the shore, and fetched out another bark which rid there, in despite of all their forts, though they shot still at the pinnace, which they could never hit. After these things our General sent a boat on shore with a flag of truce to know if they would redeem their great ship or no; but they would not, for they had received special commandment from the Viceroy from *Lima*, not to buy any ship, nor to ransom any man upon pain of death. Our General did this in hope to have redeemed some of our men, which were taken prisoners on shore by the horsemen at *Quintero*, otherwise he would have made them no offer of parley.

The 25., riding still in the said road, we spied a sail coming from the southward, and our General sent out his pinnace to meet her, with all our boats; but the

town made such signs from the hill with fires and tokens out of the watch-house, that before our pinnace could get to them, they ran the bark on shore two miles to the southward of the town; but they had small leisure to carry anything with them. But all the men scaped; among whom were certain friars, for we saw them in their friars' weeds as they ran on shore; many horsemen came from the town to rescue them, and to carry them away, otherwise we had landed and taken or killed them. So we went aboard the bark as she lay sunk, and fetched out the pillage; but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboard our ships again the same night. And the next morning we set the great ship on fire in the road, and sunk one of the barks, and carried the other along with us, and so departed from thence and went away north-west.

The 27. day we took a small bark, which came from *St. Iago*, near unto *Quintero*, where we lost our men first. In this bark was one *George*, a Greek, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of *Chili*. They were sent to the city of *Lima* with letters of *adviso* of us, and of the loss of our men. There were also in the said bark one Fleming and three Spaniards, and they were all sworn and received the sacrament before they came to sea by three or four friars, that if we should chance to meet them, they should throw those letters overboard; which, as we were giving them chase with our pinnace, before we could fetch them up, they had accordingly thrown away. Yet our General wrought so with them that they did confess it; but he was fain to cause them to be tormented with their thumbs in a wrinch, and to continue them at several times with extreme pain. Also he made the old Fleming believe that he would hang him, and the rope being about his neck he was pulled up a little from the hatches, and yet

he would not confess, choosing rather to die than he would be perjured. In the end it was confessed by one of the Spaniards; whereupon we burnt the bark, and carried the men with us.

The third of May we came into a bay where are three little towns, which are called *Paracca*, *Chincha*, and *Pisca*, where some of us landed and took certain houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs, and hens; but the sea went so high, that we could not land at the best of the towns without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of us all. This place standeth in 13 degrees and two-thirds to the southward of the line. The fifth of May we departed from this harbour, leaving the *Content*, our Vice-Admiral, within at an island of seals, by which means at that time we lost her company. The ninth we gave chase to a sail, namely, our Admiral, the *Hugh Gallant*, and the *George*, which we had taken before, coming out of the road of *Arica*: the *Content*, which was our Vice-Admiral, being still lost; but we could not fetch it. The *George* made after it, but lost it that night. The tenth day the *Hugh Gallant* (in which bark I *Francis Pretty* was) lost company of our Admiral.

The 11. we which were in the *Hugh Gallant* put into a bay which standeth in 12 degrees and two-thirds, in which bay we found a river of fresh water about eight of the clock at night. And though we were but of small force, and no more but one bark and 18 men in it, yet we went on shore to fill water; where, having filled one boat's lading, while our boat was in going aboard, two or three of our company which were on shore, as they were going a little from the watering-place with their furniture about them, espied where there were 400 or 500 bags of meal on an heap covered with a few reeds. So that night we filled water and

took as much meal as we thought good, which fell out well for us that were then lost and stood in need of victuals; and by break of day in the morning we came aboard, and there stayed and rode until the afternoon. In which mean time the town seeing us ride there still, brought down much cattle to the seaside to have enticed us to come on shore; but we saw their intent, and weighed anchor and departed the twelfth day.

The 13. day at night we put into a bay which standeth in nine degrees and a third, where we saw horsemen; and that night we landed, namely, Master *Brewer*, captain, myself *Francis Pretty*, *Arthur Warford*, *John Way*, Preacher, *John Newman*, *Andrew White*, *William Gargefield*, and *Henry Hilliard*. And we eight only, having every man his arquebus and his furniture about him, marched three-quarters of a mile along the seaside, where we found a boat of five or six tons haled up dry on the shore about a cable's length from the water; and with extreme labour we launched the bark. When it was on float, Captain *Brewer* and I went in, while the rest of our company were fetching their things; but suddenly it was ready to sink. And the captain and I stood up to the knees lading out water with our targets: but it sunk down faster than we were able to free it, insomuch as in the end we had much ado to save ourselves from drowning. When we were out, we stood in great fear that our own boat wherein we came on shore was sunk; for we could nowhere see it. Howbeit the captain commanded them to keep it off, for fear of the great surge that went by the shore. Yet in the end we spied it, and went aboard by two and two, and were driven to wade up to the arm-holes sixty paces into the sea before we could get into the boat, by reason of the shoalness; and then departed the 14. day in the morning.

The 16. we took with the *Hugh Gallant*, being but 16 men of us in it, a great ship which came from *Guaiaquil*, which was called the *Lewis*, and was of the burthen of 300 tons, having four-and-twenty men in it, wherein was pilot one *Gonsalvo de Ribas*, whom we carried along with us, and a negro called *Emmanuel*. The ship was laden with nothing but timber and victuals; wherefore we left her seven leagues from the land very leak and ready to sink in seven degrees to the southward of the line; we sunk her boat and took away her foresail and certain victuals.

The 17. of May we met with our Admiral again, and all the rest of our fleet. They had taken two ships, the one laden with sugar, *molosses*, *maize*, *Cordovan*-skins, *manteca de puerco*[1], many packs of *pintados*[2], many Indian coats, and some marmalade, and 1000 hens; and the other ship was laden with wheat-meal and boxes of marmalade. One of these ships which had the chief merchandise in it, was worth £20,000, if it had been in *England* or in any other place of *Christendom* where we might have sold it. We filled all our ships with as much as we could bestow of these goods; the rest we burnt, and the ships also, and set the men and women that were not killed on shore.

The 20. day in the morning we came into the road of *Paita*; and being at an anchor, our General landed with 60 or 70 men, skirmished with them of the town, and drave them all to flight to the top of the hill which is over the town, except a few slaves and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the governors to stay below in the town, at a place which is in building for a fort, having with them a bloody ensign, being in number about 100 men. Now as we were rowing between the ships and the shore, our

[1] Lard. [2] Coloured cloths.

gunner shot off a great piece out of one of the barks, and the shot fell among them, and drave them to fly from the fort as fast as they might run; who got them up upon a hill, and from thence shot among us with their small shot. After we were landed and had taken the town, we ran upon them, and chased them so fiercely up the hills for the space of an hour, that we drave them in the end away perforce; and being got up the hills, we found where they had laid all their stuff which they had brought out of the town, and had hidden it there upon the mountains. We also found the quantity of 25 pounds weight in silver in pieces of eight reals, and abundance of household stuff and store-houses full of all kinds of wares. But our General would not suffer any man to carry much cloth or apparel away, because they should not cloy themselves with burdens, for he knew not whether our enemies were provided with furniture according to the number of their men; for they were five men to one of us, and we had an English mile and an half to our ships. Thus we came down in safety to the town, which was very well builded, and marvellous clean kept in every street, with a town-house or Guildhall in the midst, and had to the number of 200 houses at the least in it. We set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of five or six thousand pounds. There was also a bark, riding in the road, which we set on fire, and departed, directing our course to the Island of *Puna.*

The 25. of May we arrived at the island of *Puna,* where is a very good harbour. Where we found a great ship of the burden of 250 tons riding at an anchor with all her furniture, which was ready to be haled on ground; for there is a special good place for that purpose. We sunk it, and went on shore where the lord of the island dwelt, which was by the water-

side, who had a sumptuous house, marvellous well contrived, with very many singular good rooms and chambers in it; and out of every chamber was framed a gallery with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the island on the other side, with a marvellous great hall below, and a very great storehouse at the other end of the hall, which was filled with *botijas*[1] of pitch, and bash[2] to make cables withal; for the most part of the cables of the South Sea are made upon that island. This great *cacique* doth make all the Indians upon the island to work and to drudge for him; and he himself is an Indian born, but is married to a marvellous fair woman which is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation and of his great wealth.

This Spanish woman his wife is honoured as a queen in the island, and never goeth on the ground upon her feet, but holdeth it too base a thing for her. But when her pleasure is to take the air, or to go abroad, she is always carried in a shadow[3] like unto a horse-litter upon four men's shoulders, with a veil or canopy over her for the sun or the wind, having her gentlewomen still attending about her, with a great troop of the best men of the island with her. But both she and the lord of the island with all the Indians in the town were newly fled out of the island before we could get to an anchor, by reason we were becalmed before we could get in, and were gone over unto the mainland, having carried away with them to the sum of 100,000 crowns; which we knew by a captain of the island, an Indian, which was left there with some other upon the island under him, whom we had taken at sea as we were coming into the road, being in a *balsa*[4] or *canoa* for a spy to see what we were.

[1] Jars. [2] Bast, fibre of the lime-tree. [3] Covered chair. [4] Raft.

The 27. our General himself with certain shot and some targeteers went over into the main unto the place where this aforesaid Indian captain which we had taken had told us that the *cacique*, which was the lord of the island, was gone unto, and had carried all his treasure with him; but at our coming to the place which we went to land at, we found newly arrived there four or five great *balsas*, which were laden with plantains, bags of meal, and many other kinds of victuals. Our General marvelled what they were and what they meant, asking the Indian guide and commanding him to speak the truth upon his life; being then bound fast, he answered being very much abashed, as well as our company were, that he neither knew from whence they should come, nor who they should be; for there was never a man in any one of the *balsas*; and because he had told our General before, that it was an easy matter to take the said *cacique* and all his treasure, and that there were but three or four houses standing in a desert place and no resistance, and that if he found it not so he should hang him. Again, being demanded to speak upon his life what he thought these *balsas* should be, he answered that he could not say from whence they should come, except it were to bring 60 soldiers, which he did hear were to go to a place called *Guaiaquil*, which was about six leagues from the said island, where two or three of the king's ships were on the stocks in building, where are continually an hundred soldiers in garrisons who had heard of us, and had sent for 60 more for fear of burning of the ships and town. Our General, not any whit discouraged, either at the sight of the *balsas* unlooked for, or for hearing of the threescore soldiers not until then spoken of, with a brave courage animating his company in the exploit, went presently forward, being in the night in a most desert path in the woods,

until such time as he came to the place; where, as it seemed, they had kept watch either at the water's side, or at the houses, or else at both, and were newly gone out of the houses, having so short warning, that they left their meat both boiling and roasting at the fire, and were fled with their treasure with them, or else buried it where it could not be found, being also in the night. Our company took hens and such things as we thought good, and came away.

The 29. day of May our General went in the ship boat into a little island thereby, whereas the said *cacique* which was the lord of *Puna* had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of *Cordovan* leather all gilded over, and painted very fair and rich, with all his household stuff, and all the ship's tackling which was riding in the road at our coming in, with great store of nails, spikes of iron, and very many other things, to be conveyed; all which we found, and brought away what our General thought requisite for the ship's business.

This island is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitful; but there are no mines of gold nor silver in it. There are at the least 200 houses in the town about the *cacique's* palace, and as many in one or two towns more upon the island, which is almost as big as the Isle of *Wight*, in *England*. There is planted on the one side of the *cacique's* house a fair garden, with all herbs growing in it, and at the lower end a well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this manner. The tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seed of the bigness of a pea, and in every cod there are seven or eight of these seeds; and if the cotton be not gathered when it is ripe, then these seeds fall from it, and spring

again. There are also in this garden fig-trees which bear continually, also pompions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemary, and thyme, with many other herbs and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another orchard, where grow oranges sweet and sour, limons, pomegranates and limes, with divers other fruits.

There is very good pasture ground in this island; and withal many horses, oxen, bullocks, sheep very fat and fair, great store of goats, which be very tame, and are used continually to be milked. They have moreover abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a marvellous bigness. There was also a very large and great church hard by the *cacique's* house, whither he caused all the Indians in the island to come and hear mass; for he himself was made a Christian when he was married to the Spanish woman before spoken of, and upon his conversion he caused the rest of his subjects to be christened. In this church was an high altar with a crucifix, and five bells hanging in the nether end thereof. We burnt the church and brought the bells away. By this time we had haled on ground our Admiral, and had made her clean, burnt her keel, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on float again; and in the meanwhile continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second day of June in the morning, by-and-by after break of day, every one of the watch being gone abroad to seek to fetch in victuals, some one way, some another, some for hens, some for sheep, some for goats, upon the sudden there came down upon us an hundred Spanish soldiers with muskets and an ensign, which were landed on the other side of the island that night, and all the Indians of the island with them, everyone with weapons and their baggage after them; which was

by means of a negro, whose name was *Emmanuel*, which fled from us at our first landing there. Thus being taken at advantage we had the worst; for our company was not past sixteen or twenty; whereof they had slain one or two before they were come to the houses. Yet we skirmished with them an hour and an half; at the last, being sore overcharged with multitudes, we were driven down from the hill to the water's side, and there kept them play awhile, until in the end *Zachary Saxie*, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and slain a couple of them, as he breathed himself, being somewhat tired, had an honourable death and a short; for a shot struck him to the heart; who feeling himself mortally wounded, cried to God for mercy, and fell down presently dead. But soon after the enemy was driven somewhat to retire from the bank's side to the green; and in the end our boat came and carried as many of our men away as could go in her, which was in hazard of sinking while they hastened into it. And one of our men, whose name was *Robert Maddocke*, was shot through the head with his own piece, being a snaphance, as he was hasting into the boat. But four of us were left behind, which the boat could not carry; to wit, myself *Francis Pretty*, *Thomas Andrewes*, *Stephen Gunner*, and *Richard Rose*; which had our shot ready and retired ourselves unto a cliff, until the boat came again, which was presently after they had carried the rest aboard. There were 46 of the enemy slain by us, whereof they had dragged some into bushes, and some into old houses, which we found afterward. We lost twelve men, in manner following:—*Zachary Saxie*, *Nealés Johnson*, *William Gargefield*, *Nicholas Hendy*, *Henry Cooper*, slain by the enemy; *Robert Maddocke*, killed with his piece; *Henry Mawdley*, burnt; *Edward*, the gunner's-man, *Ambrose*, the musician, drowned;

Walter Tilliard, Edward Smith, Henry Aselye, taken prisoners.

The self-same day, being the second of June, we went on shore again with seventy men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and drave them to retire, being an hundred Spaniards serving with muskets, and 200 Indians with bows, arrows, and darts. This done, we set fire on the town and burnt it to the ground, having in it to the number of 300 houses; and shortly after made havoc of their fields, orchards, and gardens, and burnt four great ships more which were in building on the stocks. The third of June, the *Content,* which was our Vice-Admiral, was haled on ground to grave at the same place, in despite of the Spaniards, and also our pinnace, which the Spaniards had burnt, was new trimmed. The fifth day of June we departed out of the road of *Puna,* where we had remained eleven days, and turned up for a place which is called *Rio Dolce,* where we watered; at which place also we sunk our Rear-Admiral called the *Hugh Gallant,* for want of men, being a bark of 40 tons. The 10. day of the same month we set the Indians on shore, which we had taken before in a *balsa,* as we were coming into the road of *Puna.* The 11. day we departed from the said *Rio Dolce.* The 12. of June we doubled the equinoctial line, and continued our course northward all that month.

The first of July we had sight of the coast of *Nueva España,* being four leagues distant from land in the latitude of 10 degrees to the northward of the line. The 9. of July we took a new ship of the burden of 120 tons, wherein was one *Michael Sancius,* whom our General took to serve his turn to water along the coast; for he was one of the best coasters in the South Sea. This *Michael Sancius* was a Provençal, born in *Marseilles,* and was the first man that told us news of the great

ship called the *Santa Anna*, which we afterward took coming from the *Philippinas*. There were six men more in this new ship; we took her sails, her ropes, and fire-wood, to serve our turns, set her on fire, and kept the men. The tenth we took another bark which was going with advice of us and our ships all along the coast, as *Michael Sancius* told us; but all the company that were in the bark were fled on shore. None of both these ships had any goods in them. For they came both from *Sonsonate*, in the province of *Guatimala*; the new ship, for fear we should have taken her in the road, and the bark, to carry news of us along the coast; which bark also we set on fire.

The 26. day of July we came to an anchor at 10 fathoms in the river of *Copalita*, where we made account to water. And the same night we departed with thirty men in the pinnace, and rowed to *Aguatulco*, which is but two leagues from the aforesaid river; and standeth in 15 degrees 40 minutes to the northward of the equinoctial line.

The 27. in the morning by the break of day, we came into the road of *Aguatulco*, where we found a bark of 50 tons, which was come from *Sonsonate* laden with *cacaos* and *anil*[1], which they had there landed; and the men were all fled on shore. We landed there and burnt their town, with the church and custom-house, which was very fair and large; in which house were 600 bags of *anil* to dye cloth, every bag whereof was worth forty crowns; and 400 bags of *cacaos*, every bag whereof is worth ten crowns. These *cacaos* go among them for meat and money; for 150 of them are in value one real of plate in ready payment. They are very like unto an almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste; they eat them and make drink of them. This the owner

[1] Indigo (Arab. *nil*, with the article *al* prefixed).

of the ship told us. I found in this town, before we burnt it, a flasket full of boxes of balm. After we had spoiled and burnt the town, wherein there were some hundred houses, the owner of the ship came down out of the hills with a flag of truce unto us, which before with the rest of all the townsmen was run away at our first coming, and at length came aboard our pinnace upon Captain *Havers'* word of safe return. We carried him to the river of *Copalita* where our ships rode; and when he came to our General he caused him to be set on shore in safety the same night, because he came upon the captain's word. The 28. day we set sail from *Copalita*, because the sea was so great there that we could not fill water, and ran the same night into the road of *Aguatulco.* The 29. our General landed and went on shore with thirty men two miles into the woods, where we took a *mestizo*, whose name was *Michael de Truxillo*, who was Customer of that town, and we found with him two chambers full of his stuff; we brought him and his stuff aboard. And whereas I say he was a *mestizo*, it is to be understood that a *mestizo* is one which hath a Spaniard to his father and an Indian to his mother.

The second day of August we had watered, and examined the said *mestizo*, and set him on shore again, and departed from the port of *Aguatulco* the same night, which standeth, as I said before, in 15 degrees and 40 minutes to the northward of the line.

Here we overslipped the haven of *Acapulco*, from whence the ships are set forth for the *Philippinas*. The 24. day of August our General, with thirty of us, went with the pinnace unto an haven called *Puerto de Natividad*, where we had intelligence by *Michael Sancius* that there should be a pinnace; but before we could get thither the said pinnace was gone to fish for pearls 12 leagues

farther, as we were informed by certain Indians which we found there. We took a *mulatto* in this place in his bed, which was sent with letters of advice concerning us along the coast of *Nueva Galicia*[1]; whose horse we killed, took his letters, left him behind, set fire on the houses, and burnt two new ships of 200 tons the piece which were in building there on the stocks, and came aboard of our ships again. The 26. of August we came into the bay of *St. Iago,* where we watered at a fresh river, along which river many plantains are growing. Here is great abundance of fresh fish. Here, also, certain of our company dragged for pearls and caught some quantity.

The second of September we departed from *St. Iago* at four of the clock in the evening. This bay of *St. Iago* standeth in 19 degrees and 18 minutes to the northward of the line. The third of September we arrived in a little bay, a league to the westward of *Port de Navidad,* called *Malacca,* which is a very good place to ride in; and the same day, about twelve of the clock, our General landed with 30 men or thereabout, and went up to a town of Indians which was two leagues from the road, which town is called *Acatlan.* There were in it about twenty or thirty houses and a church, which we defaced, and came aboard again the same night. All the people were fled out of the town at the sight of us. The 4. of September we departed from the road of *Malacca* and sailed along the coast.

The 8. we came to the road of *Chaccalla,* in which bay there are two little houses by the water's side. This bay is 18 leagues from the Cape *de los Corrientes.* The ninth, in the morning, our General sent up Captain *Havers* with 40 men of us before day, and, *Michael Sancius* being our guide, we went unto a place about

[1] Now the state of Jalisco.

two leagues up into the country in a most villainous desert path through the woods and wilderness, and in the end we came to a place where we took three householders with their wives and children and some Indians, one carpenter, which was a Spaniard, and a Portugal; we bound them all and made them to come to the seaside with us. Our General made their wives to fetch us plantains, limons, and oranges, pineapples, and other fruits, whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbands depart, except *Sembrano*, the Spanish carpenter, and *Diego*, the Portugal; and the tenth day we departed the road. The 12. day we arrived at a little island called the Isle of *St. Andrew*, on which there is great store of fowl and wood, where we dried and salted as many of the fowls as we thought good. We also killed there abundance of seals and *iguanos*, which are a kind of serpents, with four feet, and a long, sharp tail, strange to them which have not seen them; but they are very good meat. We rid here until the 17. day, at which time we departed.

The 24. day we arrived in the road of *Mazatlan*, which standeth in 23 degrees and an half, just under the tropic of *Cancer*. It is a very great river within, but is barred at the mouth; and upon the north side of the bar without is good fresh water; but there is very evil filling of it, because at a low water it is shoaled half a mile off the shore. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay, and good fruits up into the country, whereof we had some, though not without danger.

The 27. day of September we departed from the road of *Mazatlan*, and ran to an island which is a league to the northward the said *Mazatlan*, where we trimmed our ships and new built our pinnace; and there is a little island a quarter of a league from it, on which are seals, where a Spanish prisoner, whose name was *Domingo*,

being sent to wash shirts with one of our men to keep him, made a scape and swam to the main, which was an English mile distant; at which place we had seen thirty or forty Spaniards and Indians, which were horsemen and kept watch there, which came from a town called *Chiametla*, which was 11 leagues up into the country, as *Michael Sancius* told us. We found upon the island where we trimmed our pinnace fresh water, by the assistance of God in that our great need, by digging two or three foot deep in the sand, where no water nor sign of water was before to be perceived. Otherwise we had gone back 20 or 30 leagues to water, which might have been occasion that we might have missed our prey we had long waited for. But God raised one *Flores*, a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with us, to make a motion to dig in the sands. Now our General, having had experience once before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practice, and in digging three foot deep we found very good and fresh water. So we watered our ships, and might have filled a thousand tuns more if we had would. We stayed in this island until the 9. day of October, at which time we departed at night for the Cape of *St. Lucar*, which is on the west side of the point of *California*.

The 14. of October we fell with the Cape of *St. Lucar*, which cape is very like the *Needles* at the Isle of *Wight*; and within the said cape is a great bay, called by the Spaniards *Aguada Segura*; into which bay falleth a fair fresh river, about which many Indians use to keep. We watered in the river, and lay off and on from the said Cape of *St. Lucar* until the fourth of November, and had the winds hanging still westerly.

The fourth of November the *Desire* and the *Content*, wherein were the number of —— Englishmen only living, beating up and down upon the headland of

California, which standeth in 23 degrees and two thirds to the northward; between seven and eight of the clock in the morning one of the company of our Admiral, which was the trumpeter of the ship, going up into the top, espied a sail bearing in from the sea with the cape. Whereupon he cried out, with no small joy to himself and the whole company, *A sail! a sail!* With which cheerful word the master of the ship and divers others of the company went also up into the maintop. Who, perceiving the speech to be very true, gave information unto our General of these happy news, who was no less glad than the cause required; whereupon he gave in charge presently unto the whole company to put all things in readiness. Which being performed, he gave them chase some three or four hours, standing with our best advantage and working for the wind.

In the afternoon we gat up unto them, giving them the broadside with our great ordnance and a volley of small shot, and presently laid the ship aboard, whereof the King of *Spain* was owner, which was Admiral of the South Sea, called the *Santa Anna*, and thought to be 700 tons in burthen. Now, as we were ready on their ship's side to enter her, being not past 50 or 60 men at the uttermost in our ship, we perceived that the captain of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and laid their sails close on their poop, their midship, with their forecastle, and having not one man to be seen, stood close under their fights, with lances, javelins, rapiers, and targets, and an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw overboard upon our heads and into our ship so fast, and being so many of them, that they put us off the ship again with the loss of two of our men, which were slain, and with the hurting of four or five.

But for all this we new-trimmed our sails, and

fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordnance and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their captain still, like a valiant man, with his company, stood very stoutly unto his close fights, not yielding as yet. Our General, encouraging his men afresh with the whole noise of trumpets, gave them the third encounter with our great ordnance and all our small shot, to the great discomforting of our enemies, raking them through in divers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus discomforted and spoiled, and their ship being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were under water, within five or six hours' fight set out a flag of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our General to save their lives and to take their goods, and that they would presently yield.

Our General, of his goodness, promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sails, and to hoise out their boat and to come aboard. Which news they were full glad to hear of, and presently struck their sails, hoised their boat out, and one of their chief merchants came aboard unto our General, and, falling down upon his knees, offered to have kissed our General's feet, and craved mercy. Our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the ship; and sent for the captain and their pilot, who, at their coming, used the like duty and reverence as the former did. The General, of his great mercy and humanity, promised their lives and good usage. The said captain and pilot presently certified the General what goods they had within board: to wit, 122,000 *pesos* of gold;

and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with was in silks, satins, damasks, with musk and divers other merchandise, and great store of all manner of victuals, with the choice of many conserves of all sorts for to eat, and sundry sorts of very good wines. These things being made known to the General by the aforesaid captain and pilot, they were commanded to stay aboard the *Desire*, and on the sixth day of November following we went into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards *Aguada Segura* or *Puerto Seguro*.

Here the whole company of the Spaniards, both of men and women to the number of 190 persons, were set on shore; where they had a fair river of fresh water, with great store of fresh fish, fowl, and wood, and also many hares and coneys upon the main land. Our General also gave them great store of victuals, of *garvansas*[1], peasen, and some wine. Also they had all the sails of their ship to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of planks as should be sufficient to make them a bark. Then we fell to hoising in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and allotting to every man his portion. In division whereof, the eighth of this month, many of the company fell into a mutiny against our General, especially those which were in the *Content*, which nevertheless were after a sort pacified for the time.

On the 17. day of November, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Majesty, our General commanded all his ordnance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his own ship where himself went, and also in the *Content*, which was our Vice-Admiral. This being done, the same night we had many fireworks and more ordnance discharged, to the great admiration

[1] Chick peas.

of all the Spaniards which were there; for the most part of them had never seen the like before.

This ended, our General discharged the captain, gave him a royal reward, with provision for his defence against the Indians, and his company, both of swords, targets, pieces, shot, and powder, to his great contentment; but before his departure, he took out of this great ship two young lads born in *Japan*, which could both write and read their own language. The eldest, being about twenty years old, was named *Christopher*, the other was called *Cosmus*, about seventeen years of age, both of very good capacity. He took also with him, out of their ship, three boys born in the islands of *Manilla*, the one about fifteen, the other about thirteen, and the youngest about nine years old. The name of the eldest was *Alphonso*, the second *Anthony de Dasi*, the third remaineth with the Right Honourable the Countess of *Essex*. He also took from them one *Nicholas Roderigo*, a Portugal, who hath not only been in *Canton* and other parts of *China*, but also in the islands of *Japan*, being a country most rich in silver mines, and hath also been in the *Philippinas*.

He took also from them a Spaniard, whose name was *Thomas de Ersola*, which was a very good pilot from *Acapulco* and the coast of *Nueva España* unto the islands of *Ladrones*, where the Spaniards do put in to water, sailing between *Acapulco* and the *Philippinas*. In which islands of *Ladrones*, they find fresh water, plantains, and potato roots; howbeit the people be very rude and heathens. The 19. day of November aforesaid, about three of the clock in the afternoon, our General caused the king's ship to be set on fire, which, having to the quantity of 500 tons of goods in her, we saw burnt unto the water, and then gave them a piece of ordnance and set sail joyfully homewards towards

England with a fair wind, which by this time was come about to east-north-east. And night growing near we left the *Content* astern of us, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here, thinking she would have overtaken us, we lost her company and never saw her after. We were sailing from this haven of *Aguada Segura*, in *California*, unto the isles of *Ladrones*, the rest of November and all December, and so forth until the third of January, 1588, with a fair wind for the space of 45 days; and we esteemed it to be between 1700 and 1800 leagues. The third day of January by six of the clock in the morning we had sight of one of the islands of *Ladrones* called the island of *Guana*, standing in 13 degrees and two-thirds toward the north; and sailing with a gentle gale before the wind, by one or two of the clock in the afternoon we were come up within two leagues of the island, where we met with sixty or seventy sails of *canoas* full of savages, who came off to sea unto us, and brought with them in their boats plantains, *cocos*, potato-roots, and fresh fish, which they had caught at sea, and held them up unto us for to truck or exchange with us; which when we perceived we made fast little pieces of old iron upon small cords and fishing-lines, and so veered the iron into their *canoas*, and they caught hold of them and took off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make fast unto the same line either a potato-root or a bundle of plantains, which we haled in, and thus our company exchanged with them until they had satisfied themselves with as much as did content them; yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were so thick about the ship that it stemmed and brake one or two of their *canoas*; but the men saved themselves, being in every *canoa* four, six, or eight persons, all naked, and excellent swimmers and divers. They are

of a tawny colour and marvellous fat, and bigger ordinarily of stature than the most part of our men in *England*, wearing their hair marvellous long; yet some of them have it made up and tied with a knot on the crown, and some with two knots, much like unto their images which we saw them have carved in wood, and standing in the head of their boats like unto the images of the devil. Their *canoas* were as artificially made as any that ever we had seen, considering they were made and contrived without any edge-tool. They are not above half-a-yard in breadth, and in length some seven or eight yards, and their heads and sterns are both alike; they are made out with rafts of canes and reeds on the starboard side, with mast and sail. Their sail is made of mats of sedges, square or triangle-wise, and they sail as well right against the wind as before the wind. These savages followed us so long, that we could not be rid of them, until in the end our General commanded some half-dozen arquebuses to be made ready, and himself struck one of them and the rest shot at them; but they were so yare[1] and nimble, that we could not discern whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backward into the sea, and prevent us by diving.

The 14. day of January lying at hull with our ship all the middle watch, from twelve at night until four in the morning, by the break of day we fell with an headland of the isles of the *Philippinas*, which is called *Cabo del Spirito Santo*, which is of very great bigness and length, high land in the midst of it, and very low land as the cape lieth east and west, trending far into the sea to the westward. This cape or island is distant from the isle of *Guana*, one of the *Ladrones*, 310 leagues. We were in sailing this course eleven

[1] Brisk.

days, with scant winds and some foul weather, bearing no sail two or three nights. This island standeth in 13 degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woody through the whole land; and it is short of the chiefest island of the *Philippinas*, called *Manilla*, about 60 leagues. *Manilla* is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards to the number of 600 or 700 persons; which dwell in a town unwalled, which hath three or four small block-houses, part made of wood and part of stone, being indeed of no great strength; they have one or two small galleys belonging to the town. It is a very rich place of gold and many other commodities; and they have yearly traffic from *Acapulco* in *Nueva España*, and also twenty or thirty ships from *China* and from the *Sanguelos*[1], which bring them many sorts of merchandise. The merchants of *China* and the *Sanguelos* are part *Moors* and part heathen people. They bring great store of gold with them, which they traffic and exchange for silver, and give weight for weight. These *Sanguelos* are men of marvellous capacity in devising and making all manner of things, especially in all handicrafts and sciences; and every one is so expert, perfect, and skilful in his faculty, as few or no Christians are able to go beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing and embroidering upon satin, silk, or lawn, either beast, fowl, fish, or worm, for liveliness and perfectness, both in silk, silver, gold and pearl, they excel. Also the 14. day at night we entered the straits between the island of *Luçon* and the island of *Camlaia*. The 15. of January we fell with an island called *Capul*, and had betwixt the said island and another island but a narrow passage, and a marvellous rippling of a very great tide with a ledge of rocks lying off the point of the island of *Capul*; and no danger, but

[1] People of Sanga (in Japan).

water enough a fair breadth off, and within the point a fair bay and a very good harborough in four fathoms water hard aboard the shore within a cable's length. About ten of the clock in the morning we came to an anchor.

Our ship was no sooner come to an anchor, but presently there came a *canoa* rowing aboard us, wherein was one of the chief *caciques* of the island, whereof there be seven; who, supposing that we were Spaniards, brought us potato-roots, which they call *camotas,* and green *cocos,* in exchange whereof we gave his company pieces of linen, to the quantity of a yard for four *cocos,* and as much linen for a basket of potato-roots of a quart in quantity, which roots are very good meat, and excellent sweet either roasted or boiled. This *cacique's* skin was carved and cut with sundry and many streaks and devices all over his body. We kept him still aboard, and caused him to send those men which brought him aboard back to the island to cause the rest of the principals to come aboard; who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the island came down with their *cocos* and potato-roots, and the rest of the principals likewise came aboard and brought with them hens and hogs; and they used the same order with us which they do with the Spaniards. For they took for every hog (which they call *balboye*), eight reals of plate, and for every hen or cock one real of plate. Thus we rode at anchor all that day, doing nothing but buying roots, *cocos,* hens, hogs, and such things as they brought, refreshing ourselves marvellously well.

The same day at night, being the 15. of January, 1588, *Nicolas Roderigo,* the Portugal, whom we took out of the great *Santa Anna,* at the Cape of *California,* desired to speak with our General in secret; which when our General understood he sent for him, and asked him what he had to say unto him. The Portugal

made him this answer, that although he had offended his worship heretofore, yet now he had vowed his faith and true service unto him, and in respect thereof he neither could nor would conceal such treason as was in working against him and his company, and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great *Santa Anna* for a pilot, whose name was *Thomas de Ersola,* had written a letter, and secretly sealed it and locked it up in his chest, meaning to convey it by the inhabitants of this island to *Manilla,* the contents whereof were *that there had been two English ships along the coast of Chili, Peru, Nueva España, and Nueva Galicia, and that they had taken many ships and merchandise in them, and burnt divers towns, and spoiled all that ever they could come unto, and that they had taken the king's ship which came from Manilla and all his treasure, with all the merchandise that was therein, and had set all the people on shore, taking himself away perforce.* Therefore he willed them *that they should make strong their bulwarks with their two galleys, and all such provision as they could possibly make.* He further signified, *that we were riding at an island called Capul, which was at the end of the island of Manilla, being one ship with small force in it, and that the other ship, as he supposed, was gone for the North-west Passage, standing in 55 degrees; and that if they could use any means to surprise us, being there at an anchor, they should despatch it; for our force was but small, and our men but weak, and that the place where we rode was but fifty leagues from them. Otherwise if they let us escape, within few years they must make account to have their town besieged and sacked with an army of English.* This information being given, our General called for him, and charged him with these things. Which at the first he utterly denied; but in the end, the matter being made manifest, and known of

certainty by especial trial and proofs, the next morning our General willed that he should be hanged; which was accordingly performed the 16. of January. We rode for the space of nine days about this island of *Capul*, where we had divers kinds of fresh victuals, with excellent fresh water in every bay, and great store of wood. The people of this island go almost all naked, and are tawny of colour. The men wear only a strap about their waists, of some kind of linen of their own weaving, which is made of plantain leaves, and another strap coming from their back † underneath, and is made fast to their girdles. * * * These people wholly worship the devil, and often times have conference with him, which appeareth unto them in most ugly and monstrous shape.

On the 23. day of January, our General, Master *Thomas Cavendish*, caused all the principals of this island, and of an hundred islands more which he had made to pay tribute unto him (which tribute was in hogs, hens, potatoes, and *cocos*) to appear before him, and made himself and his company known unto them, that they were Englishmen, and enemies to the Spaniards; and thereupon spread his ensign and sounded up the drums, which they much marvelled at; to conclude, they promised both themselves and all the islands thereabout to aid him, whensoever he should come again to overcome the Spaniards. Also our General gave them, in token that we were enemies to the Spaniards, money back again for all their tribute which they had paid; which they took marvellous friendly, and rowed about our ships to show us pleasure marvellous swiftly; at the last our General caused a saker to be shot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment took their leaves of us.

The next day being the 24. of January, we set sail

about six of the clock in the morning, and ran along the coast of the island of *Manilla*, shaping our course northwest, between the isle of *Manilla* and the isle of *Masbat.*

The 28. day in the morning about seven of the clock, riding at an anchor betwixt two islands, we spied a frigate under her two courses, running out between two other islands, which as we imagined came from *Manilla*, sailing close aboard the shore along the mainland of *Panama*; we chased this frigate along the shore, and got very fast upon it, until in the end we came so near that it stood into the shore close by a wind, until she was becalmed and was driven to strike her sail, and banked up with her oars; whereupon we came unto an anchor with our ship, a league and an half from the place where the frigate rowed in; and manned our boat with half-a-dozen shot and as many men with swords, which did row the boat; thus we made after the frigate which had hoised sail and ran into a river, which we could not find. But as we rowed along the shore, our boat came into very shallow water, where many weirs and sticks were set up in divers places in the sea, from whence two or three *canoas* came forth, whereof one made somewhat near unto us, with three or four Indians in it. We called unto them, but they would not come nearer unto us, but rowed from us; whom we durst not follow too far for fear of bringing ourselves too much to the leeward of our ship. Here, as we looked about us, we espied another *balsa* or *canoa* of a great bigness, which they which were in her did set along, as we do usually set a barge, with long staves or poles, which was builded up with great canes, and below hard by the water made to row with oars; wherein were about five or six Indians and one Spaniard. Now as we were come almost at the *balsa*,

we ran aground with our boat; but one or two of our men leaped overboard and freed it again presently, and keeping thwart her head, we laid her aboard and took into us the Spaniard, but the Indians leaped into the sea and dived and rose far off again from us. Presently upon the taking of this *canoa*, there showed upon the sand a band of soldiers marching with an ensign having a red cross like the flag of *England*, which were about fifty or sixty Spaniards, which were lately come from *Manilla* to that town which is called *Ragaun* in a bark to fetch a new ship of the king's, which was building in a river within the bay, and stayed there but for certain irons that did serve for the rudder of the said ship, which they looked for every day.

This band of men shot at us from the shore with their muskets, but hit none of us, and we shot at them again; they also manned a frigate and sent it out after our boat to have taken us. But we with sail and oars went from them; and when they perceived that they could not fetch us, but that they must come within danger of the ordnance of our ship, they stood in with the shore again and landed their men, and presently sent their frigate about the point, but whither we knew not. So we came aboard with this one Spaniard, which was neither soldier nor sailor, but one that was come among the rest from *Manilla*, and had been in the hospital there a long time before, and was a very simple soul, and such a one as could answer to very little that he was asked, concerning the state of the country. Here we rode at anchor all that night, and perceived that the Spaniards had dispersed their band into two or three parts, and kept great watch in several steads with fires and shooting off their pieces. This island hath much plain ground in it in many places, and many fair and straight trees do grow upon it, fit

for to make excellent good masts for all sorts of ships. There are also mines of very fine gold in it, which are in the custody of the Indians. And to the southward of this place there is another very great island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other nation. The people which inhabit it are all negroes, and the island is called the Island of *Negroes*, and is almost as big as England, standing in nine degrees; the most part of it seemeth to be very low land, and by all likelihood is very fruitful.

The 29. day of January, about six of the clock in the morning, we set sail, sending our boat before until it was two of the clock in the afternoon, passing all this time as it were through a strait betwixt the said two islands of *Panama* and the Island of *Negroes*, and about 16 leagues off we espied a fair opening, trending south-west and by south, at which time our boat came aboard, and our General sent commendations to the Spanish captain which we came from the evening before by the Spaniard which we took, and willed him to provide good store of gold; for he meant for to see him with his company at *Manilla* within few years, and that he did but want a bigger boat to have landed his men, or else he would have seen him then; and so caused him to be set on shore. The 8. day of February by eight of the clock in the morning we espied an island near *Gilolo*, called *Batochina*, which standeth in one degree from the equinoctial line northward. The 14. day of February we fell with eleven or twelve very small islands, lying very low and flat, full of trees, and passed by some islands which be sunk and have the dry sands lying in the main sea. These islands, near the *Malucos*, stand in 3 degrees and 10 minutes to the southward of the line.

On the 17. day, one *John Gameford*, a cooper, died,

which had been sick of an old disease a long time. The 20. day we fell with certain other islands which had many small islands among them, standing four degrees to the southward of the line. On the 21. day of February, being Ash Wednesday, Captain *Havers* died of a most severe and pestilent ague which held him furiously some seven or eight days; to the no small grief of our General and of all the rest of the company, who caused two falcons and one saker to be shot off, with all the small shot in the ship; who, after he was shrouded in a sheet and a prayer said, was heaved overboard with great lamentation of us all. Moreover, presently after his death myself with divers others in the ship fell marvellously sick, and so continued in very great pain for the space of three weeks or a month by reason of the extreme heat and untemperateness of the climate.

The first day of March, having passed through the straits of *Java Minor* and *Java Major*, we came to an anchor under the south-west parts of *Java Major*; where we espied certain of the people which were fishing by the sea-side in a bay which was under the island. Then our General taking into the ship's boat certain of his company, and a negro which could speak the *Morisco* tongue, which he had taken out of the great *Santa Anna*, made towards those fishers, which having espied our boat ran on shore into the wood for fear of our men; but our General caused his negro to call unto them; who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shore-side and made answer. Our General by the negro enquired of him for fresh water, which they found, and caused the fisher to go to the king and to certify him of a ship that was come to have traffic for victuals, and for diamonds, pearls, or any other rich jewels that he had; for which

he should have either gold or other merchandise in exchange. The fisherman answered that we should have all manner of victuals that we would request. Thus the boat came aboard again. Within a while after we went about to furnish our ship thoroughly with wood and water.

About the eighth of March two or three *canoas* came from the town unto us with eggs, hens, fresh fish, oranges and limes, and brought word we should have had victuals more plentifully, but that they were so far to be brought to us where we rid. Which when our General heard he weighed anchor and stood in nearer for the town. And as we were under sail we met with one of the king's *canoas* coming toward us; whereupon we shook the ship in the wind and stayed for the *canoa* until it came aboard of us, and stood into the bay which was hard by and came to an anchor. In this *canoa* was the king's secretary, who had on his head a piece of dyed linen cloth folded up like unto a Turk's *tuliban*[1]; he was all naked saving about his waist; his breast was carved with the broad arrow upon it; he went barefooted; he had an interpreter with him, which was a *mestizo*, that is, half an Indian and half a Portugal, who could speak very good Portuguese. This secretary signified unto our General that he had brought him an hog, hens, eggs, fresh fish, sugar-canes, and wine, which wine was as strong as any *aqua vitæ*, and as clear as any rock water. He told him further that he would bring victuals so sufficiently for him, as he and his company would request, and that within the space of four days. Our General used him singularly well, banquetted him most royally with the choice o. many and sundry conserves, wines both sweet and other, and caused his musicians to make him music. This done

[1] = turban (Turkish, *dulbend*).

our General told him that he and his company were Englishmen, and that we had been at *China* and had had traffic there with them, and that we were come thither to discover, and purposed to go to *Malacca*. The people of *Java* told our General that there were certain Portugals in the island which lay there as factors continually to traffic with them, to buy negroes, cloves, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities. This secretary of the king with his interpreter lay one night aboard our ship. The same night, because they lay aboard, in the evening at the setting of the watch, our General commanded every man in the ship to provide his arquebus and his shot, and so with shooting off forty or fifty small shot and one saker, himself set the watch with them. This was no small marvel unto these heathen people, who had not commonly seen any ship so furnished with men and ordnance. The next morning we dismissed the secretary and his interpreter with all humanity.

The fourth day after, which was the 12. of March, according to their appointment came the king's *canoas*; but the wind being somewhat scant they could not get aboard that night, but put into a bay under the island until the next day. And presently after the break of day there came to the number of nine or ten of the king's *canoas* so deeply laden with victuals as they could swim, with two great live oxen, half a score of wonderful great and fat hogs, a number of hens which were alive, drakes, geese, eggs, plantains, sugar-canes, sugar in plates, *cocos*, sweet oranges and sour, limes, great store of wine and *aqua vitæ*, salt to season victuals withal, and almost all manner of victuals else, with divers of the king's officers which were there. Among all the rest of the people, in one of these *canoas* came two Portugals, which were of middle stature, and men

of marvellous proper personage; they were each of them in a loose jerkin, and hose, which came down from the waist to the ancle, because of the use of the country, and partly because it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance (for they account it as a thing of great dislike among these heathens to wear either hose or shoes on their feet): they had on each of them a very fair and a white lawn shirt, with falling bands on the same, very decently, only their bare legs excepted. These Portugals were no small joy unto our General and all the rest of our company; for we had not seen any Christian, that was our friend, of a year and an half before. Our General used and entreated them singularly well, with banquets and music. They told us that they were no less glad to see us than we to see them, and enquired of the state of their country, and what was become of *Don Antonio*, their king, and whether he were living or no; for that they had not of long time been in *Portugal*, and that the Spaniards had always brought them word that he was dead. Then our General satisfied them in every demand; assuring them that their king was alive, and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queen[1], and that there was war between *Spain* and *England*, and that we were come under the King of *Portugal* into the South Sea, and had warred upon the Spaniards there, and had fired, spoiled, and sunk all the ships along the coast that we could meet withal, to the number of eighteen or twenty sails. With this report they were sufficiently satisfied.

On the other side they declared unto us the state of the island of *Java*. First the plentifulness and great choice and store of victuals of all sorts, and of all manner of fruits, as before is set down. Then the great and rich

[1] Antonio was then a refugee at Elizabeth's court.

merchandise which are there to be had. Then they described the properties and nature of the people as followeth. The name of the king of that part of the island was *Raja Bolamboam*, who was a man had in great majesty and fear among them. The common people may not bargain, sell, or exchange anything with any other nation, without special licence from their king; and if any so do, it is present death for him. The king himself is a man of great years, and hath an hundred wives; his son hath fifty. The custom of the country is, that whensoever the king doth die they take the body so dead and burn it, and preserve the ashes of him, and within five days next after, the wives of the said king so dead, according to the custom and use of their country, everyone of them go together to a place appointed, and the chief of the women, which was nearest unto him in account, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball resteth thither they go all, and turn their faces to the eastward, and everyone with a dagger in their hand (which dagger they call a *crise*, and is as sharp as a razor) stab themselves to the heart, and with their hands all-to bebathe themselves in their own blood, and falling grovelling on their faces so end their days. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strange.

The men of themselves be very politic and subtle, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they undertake, and wonderfully at commandment and fear of their king. For example; if their king command them to undertake any exploit, be it never so dangerous or desperate, they dare not nor will not refuse it, though they die every man in the execution of the same. For he will cut off the heads of every one of them which return alive without bringing of

their purpose to pass; which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the south-east parts of the world; for they never fear any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himself hurt with lance or sword, he will willingly run himself upon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort end his days, or overcome his enemy. Moreover, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be fair of complexion and go more apparelled.

After they had thus described the state of the island, and the orders and fashions of the people, they told us farther, that if their king *Don Antonio* would come unto them they would warrant him to have all the *Malucos* at commandment, besides *China, Sangles,* and the isles of the *Philippinas,* and that he might be assured to have all the Indians on his side that are in the country. After we had fully contented these Portugals, and the people of *Java* which brought us victuals in their *canoas,* they took their leave of us with promise of all good entertainment at our returns, and our General gave them three great pieces of ordnance at their departing. Thus the next day, being the 16. of March, we set sail towards the *Cape of Good Hope,* called by the Portugals *Cabo de Buena Esperança,* on the southermost coast of *Africa.*

The rest of March and all the month of April we spent in traversing that mighty and vast sea, between the isle of *Java* and the main of *Africa,* observing the heavens, the *Crosiers* or South-pole, the other stars, the fowls, which are marks unto the seamen of fair weather, foul weather, approaching of lands or islands, the winds, the tempests, the rains and thunders, with the alteration of tides and currents.

The 10. day of May we had a storm at the west, and it blew so hard that it was as much as the ship could stir close by under the wind; and the storm continued all that day and all that night. The next day, being the 11. of May, in the morning one of the company went into the top, and espied land bearing north and north and by west of us, and about noon we espied land to bear west of us, which, as we did imagine, was the Cape of *Buena Esperança,* whereof, indeed, we were short some 40 or 50 leagues. And by reason of the scantness of the wind we stood along to the south-east until midnight, at which time the wind came fair, and we haled along westward. The 12. and 13. days we were becalmed, and the sky was very hazy and thick until the 14. day at three of the clock in the afternoon, at which time the sky cleared, and we espied the land again which was the cape called *Cabo Falso,* which is short of the Cape *de Buena Esperança* 40 or 50 leagues. This cape is very easy to be known; for there are right over it three very high hills standing but a small way one off another, and the highest standeth in the midst, and the ground is much lower by the seaside. The Cape of *Good Hope* beareth west and by south from the said *Cabo Falso.*

The 16. day of May, about four of the clock in the afternoon, the wind came up at east a very stiff gale, which held until it was Saturday, with as much wind as ever the ship could go before; at which time, by six of the clock in the morning, we espied the promontory or headland called the Cape *de Buena Esperança,* which is a reasonable high land, and at the westermost point, a little off the main, do shew two hummocks, the one upon the other, and three other hummocks lying further off into the sea, yet low land between and adjoining unto the sea. The Cape of *Buena Esperança* is set